HONOR ORATIONS

In the contests
of the . . . .

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Oratorical Association

Together with the

Orations judged highest in Thought and Composition when such Orations did not receive an honor

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Preface.

The Oratorical Association issues this collection of orations in response to repeated requests of the many students of oratory in the University. There is a commendable desire, especially on the part of those who contemplate entering the contests, to see the character of the work done by those who have preceded them. And as the prime object of an oration is to produce thought with accuracy and force, it follows that constant practice, under discriminative criticism, and comparison with the work of others, will go far toward reaching these results.

It often happens in these contests, in which *delivery* counts equally with the *thought* and *composition*, that the oration judged highest as a production does not receive an honor. When such is the case it has been deemed wise to publish it with the Honor Orations. A careful study and comparison of the various productions given cannot be other than a source of profit and encouragement to those who are to participate in future contests, for we believe that the average student can do what the average student has done.

The editor realizes that the orations herein presented are not above criticism, that they are student orations and must not be compared with the masterpieces of the great orators, but they will be found to contain vigorous thought, forcibly expressed, and will, we think, compare favorably with like productions from other institutions.

The money derived from the sale of "Honor Orations" will be devoted wholly to furthering the interests of oratory in the University. T. C. T.

ANN ARBOR, MICH., May 20, 1895.

Contents.

History of the Association.

The Oratorical Association of the University of Michigan was organized tentatively in January, 1890. Its purpose was to foster interest in oratory by holding annual contests among the college classes, and if possible to participate in like contests with other universities. To this end the first thought of its projectors was to organize a state association of the colleges of Michigan and then ask for admission to the Inter-State Oratorical Association. But on mature reflection, when it was taken into account that there were already ten states in that organization and that an entertainment composed of eleven orations would be too protracted and fatiguing both to the judges and to the audience, it was determined if possible to form a new association composed of the largest and most influential institutions of the west.

Accordingly invitations were sent to the University of Wisconsin, Oberlin College, Northwestern and Cornell Universities, to send delegates to Ann Arbor in June, 1890, to form an Inter-Collegiate Association. All responded except Cornell, who, while in sympathy with the movement, could not join us unless we would admit to our contest her Woodford prize orator, a graduate of the previous year. This the convention could not accede to, believing that interests in oratory would be best subserved in the several institutions by barring students holding academic degrees.

After a two days session the Northern Oratorical League was formed with the following institutions as charter members: Northwestern University, Oberlin College, and the Universities of Michigan and Wisconsin. The Universities of Iowa and Chicago were admitted, the one in 1891, the other in 1893.

The Michigan Oratorical Association through whose particular influence the League was organized, was now ready to establish itself on a permanent basis in accordance with the provisions and requirements of the League. Its constitution and by-laws were so amended as to correspond with that of the larger body of which it was a member. The Literary and Law Departments wherein the

interest in oratory is chiefly confined, were admitted on an equal footing, and while degree men and students from other departments were admitted to membership in the Association they were not permitted to participate in its contests.

The provisions of the constitution which relate to contestants and testimonials, are as follows:

ARTICLE VII.

SEC. 1. The orators who shall compete at the contest shall be eight (8) in number and shall be limited to members of the Association who are pursuing undergraduate studies and have not received an academic degree. They shall be chosen by preliminary contests from the sophomore, junior and senior classes of the Literary Department, and from the first year, second year, and third year classes of the Law Department, each of which shall be entitled to orators as follows: In the Literary Department the senior class shall have two, the junior class one, and the sophomore class one orator; in the Law Department the third year class shall have two, the second year class one, and the first year class one orator.

SEC. 5. The contestants receiving the first and second positions at the annual contest shall be representative and alternate respectively of this Association at the Northern Oratorical League contest; and they, together with the third representative, who shall be elected at the regular annual election, shall be delegates to the general annual convention, but not more than two delegates shall be members of the same department of the University.

ARTICLE IX.

SEC. 2. As testimonials of success in the contests of this Association, there shall be awarded, as first honor, the Chicago Alumni Medal and Testimonial of seventy-five (75) dollars; as second honor fifty (50) dollars.

[illegible] and Testimonial.

[illegible] Alumni Association of the [illegible] to encourage interest in oratory at the University established the Chicago Alumni Medal and Testimonial of seventy five (75) dollars to be given annually to the student who shall win the first honor in the contest of the University Oratorical Association. This medal, cuts of which are here presented, was designed by Mr. Louis H. Sullivan, the archi-

[illegible] ALUMNI MEDAL.

[illegible] OF CHICAGO ALUMNI MEDAL.

[illegible] of Maine.

HONOR ORATIONS.

Austin Carlos Gormley.

The subject of this sketch was born at Helena, Montana, April 23, 1867. His father, James Gormley, was a merchant in this frontier town, who by his thrift became one of the wealthiest men of the place, but he lost his means by unfortunate investments in quartz mines and soon after died, leaving his son Austin and two sisters to the care of their widowed mother. After a brief period in the public schools of Virginia City, whither they had removed, the young lad of fifteen was compelled to seek employment. He went to work in a printing office, where he held cases for four years, and later at Ann Arbor he found the printer's trade very useful to him, for the money earned during vacations and at odd times went a great way toward defraying expenses during his course at the University.

In 1886, the family removed to Ann Arbor, where Austin entered the High School. He was graduated in the Latin course in 1888, having been honored by his class with the oratorship and by the faculty with a place on the commencement program.

The following October he matriculated in the Literary Department of the University. The next year, while still pursuing his literary course, he registered in the Law school, from which he was graduated with the class of '91 with the degree of LL. B. On completing his course he received the appointment of Quizmaster in the Law school for the following year, and entered the post-graduate Law class, but before completing the year's work he received the offer of a co-partnership with Mr. N. B. Smith, a leading lawyer of White Sulphur Springs, Montana, and decided to leave the University and enter upon the practice of the law. He is still a member of the firm of Smith & Gormley, and is meeting with great success in his professional work.

In 1894 he was elected prosecuting attorney of Meagher Co., Montana.

During his University course Mr. Gormley was a most faithful student of oratory. He not only completed all the courses then offered in the subject but accepted every opportunity for public speaking. He helped to organize the University Oratorical Association and in its first annual contest was awarded highest honor, and became the representative of the University in the first contest of the Northern Oratorical League, where he was also awarded first place. He was moreover a most enthusiastic and skillful debater. In 1890 he was chosen one of a trio to participate in a public debate between the Law School and the Literary Department and was on the winning side.

Since leaving college he has been much sought to make the principal address on public occasions. In style he is bold, at times lofty, in action somewhat angular, but forceful and impulsive. He commands attention by his great earnestness, his thorough sympathy with his audience, and his mastery of the subject in hand.

QUO WARRANTO?

By Austin Carlos Gormley.

[First Honor Oration in 1891 at the University of Michigan and also in the Northern Oratorical League. In the former contest Mr. Gormley was marked third in Thought and Composition and first in Delivery; in the latter first in Thought and Composition and third in Delivery.]

Before people can use their power, they must learn that they have it. The Persian, never doubting the right of the priesthood to a monopoly of learning, is still, with his neighbors of the Orient, languishing in chains of ignorance and superstition. The Hindu, never questioning the superior claims of the Brahman, must die, as he has lived, without hope or aspiration. As long as the many have been credulous, the few have been artful enough to impose upon their credulity. The few take unto themselves authority that was never given them, and the many, not questioning this authority, are held in pitiless subjection to tyranny and oppression. Not until the spirit of inquiry has been breathed into the deadened souls of men have they asserted their independence. Then they have demanded that those who assumed the right to rule should show their authority. "By what authority?" was the

cry that began to go up from the toiling slave to his insolent master, from the retainer to his feudal lord, from the vassal to his tyrant king. It was this question that gradually lessened the number of despots and transformed the absolutism of William the Conqueror into the constitutionalism of Victoria; that changed the "I, George III., King of England, by the Grace of God," into "We, the people of the United States."

This writ of *quo warranto*, which has brought to an end so many acts of usurpation, can still be utilized to prevent their repetition. And so, today, if authority is overridden and rights are trampled upon, let the offenders be summoned by this writ to appear and answer. It is high time that this were done. To realize that this is so, we need only read the opinions of economists and political philosophers, watch the direction in which legislation is being attempted, and note the numerous organizations for self-defense that are continually being formed. These tell us of great and growing evils; but, numerous as these evils are, we see, if we look closely, that they are only the various branches of a tree whose root is an inordinate love of money. The position of influence formerly held by the priest, the king, or the noble has passed in this country into the hands of the capitalist. The maxim of the day being that "money can do no wrong," everything is subordinated to the one end of acquiring it. All things are offered up as sacrifices to this golden calf. Money is not simply the means by which the high hopes of life may be realized; it is itself the end—the *summum bonum* of life. It sets itself up as the standard by which everything is measured: an education that cannot be converted into gold is looked upon as worthless. In politics, it is the master. It packs caucuses and conventions and carries elections. It controls the large cities of the nation, owning the mayor, aldermen, and police force: the Tweeds are not all dead yet, nor have all the boodlers fled to Canada. It stalks boldly into the halls of our state legislatures and makes it possible for a Quay or a Brice to sit in the seat once occupied by a Webster or a Clay. What should be a council of wise men is thus becoming "a rich men's club." The miserable philosophy of Hobbes permeates the political system: "Not he who is wise is rich, as the Stoics say; but he who is rich is wise." It secures legislation in its own favor, pays labor the market price, out of its immense profits founds a free library, and then boasts itself a public benefactor. Jekyll-like, it pleadingly implores

assistance "until it can stand alone"; this granted, it shows its true nature of Mr. Hyde, organizes into a trust, and with a mocking laugh cries out, "Where are you?" Nothing seems to check this authority of wealth. It asserts itself everywhere. If brought to trial, it often puts its golden goblet to the lips of court and bar, and makes justice a farce. Decked in its most gorgeous colors, it occupies the best pew in church, and sometimes causes the minister to suppress the truth. Within the memory of many now living, it was wont, with its fiendish eye, to charm the minister of the gospel into declaring that slavery was ordained of God. In this country we have no pope to mediate for us, but every one stands face to face with his God; no king, by whom we consider ourselves honored if allowed but to kiss the hem of his garment. But in their stead we have Mammon, in whose train we delight to follow and before whom we cringe to secure a favor.

> "O he sits high in all the people's hearts,
> And that which would appear offense in us
> His countenance, like richest alchemy,
> Will change to virtue and to worthiness."

Money has its proper functions, and he who does not strive to secure it as a means to high and noble ends is unworthy to be called an American citizen. But when we see it overstepping its legitimate bounds, and becoming the master instead of the servant of man; when we see a few exacting tribute from the entire population; when we see men elevated to positions of honor, not because of what they *are*, but because of what they *have*, we cannot refrain from demanding, "By what authority?"

And what answer do they make to this demand? Most likely they give no sign of recognition, except to emit a derisive laugh, as much as to say, "What are you going to do about it?" If they deign to make defense, they simply give, in an amended form, the old answer that has stood many a tyrant in stead, and exclaim, "In the name of the Almighty—dollar!"

Do the people deem the answer sufficient? If they do, why these complaints that are being heard on every hand? Why the distress among the agricultural classes? Why the attacks on trusts and monopolies? Why the disgust of honest men at the corruption in politics? Why the life-and-death struggle between labor and capital? No, no; this latest generation of a race that has ever been the foe of tyranny does not accept such an answer. Sitting as the highest tribunal, the people are pronouncing, with no

uncertain voice, their disapproval of the prerogatives that money has taken unto itself. They have sustained the *quo warranto.* It remains only to enforce their decree.

And it will not be difficult to do this if the people fully realize the causes by which money has succeeded in usurping so much authority. The plutocrats, like the tyrants of the past, were not given this authority. They took it. The people, to whom belongs the right to govern, have again fallen asleep and their rights have been taken from them. In the Declaration of Independence the consent of the governed is laid down as the foundation of all just authority. And by that consent, as one of our best historians has truly said, was not meant "the unresisting acquiescence of the mind, which, like the potter's clay, receives whatever is impressed upon it, but that active, resolute, conscious, personal consent, which distinguishes the true freeman from the puppet." Add to this the words of Lafayette: "For a nation to love liberty, it is sufficient that she *know* it, and to be free it is sufficient that she *will* it." This free volition, this real consent, of the governed has never been given to the money power.

What is necessary, then, is an increased interest and a more active participation by all men in matters of public concern. With this increased activity, the people can be depended upon to give sanction to the best of the many theories offered for their political uplifting. And let them profit by the lessons of the past. History furnishes many examples where the few in power have consolidated their forces and brought ruin to a nation. So care must be taken lest the consolidation of riches now going on shall crush out the life of this industrial republic. The French, yearning for empire, followed their vain leader until he at last left them helpless at Waterloo. Let Americans, in their blind love of riches, not follow their Napoleons of Finance until they meet a similar fate. The Grecian and Italian republics excluded politics from the jurisdiction of morals, and their lives ebbed away. Let America take warning, and, in doing so, show that "the Decalogue and the Golden Rule are" *not* "out of place in political campaigns."

And this leads us to see that what is far more necessary than an increase in the thought power is an increase in the heart power, the conscience power, of the nation. The laws of a country cannot be better than the people who make them or suffer

under them. The remedy, then, is found in something more than the adoption of this or that political theory; in something more than legislation restraining corporations, increasing the currency, prohibiting the liquor traffic or regulating the tariff. It may embrace, but it goes far beyond, these. The true remedy is revealed in the "still, small voice" that speaks to the conscience and the heart of man; the voice that has spoken through the great men of history, who thought not of self, but of humanity; the voice that prompted Luther to nail to the church door of Wittenberg theses protesting against the sale of indulgences for crime; that caused the "beggars" of Leyden to say to Philip of Spain, "As long as there is a man left we will fight for our liberty and our religion"; that moved our own immortal Lincoln to strike the shackles from the slave and restore to him the God-given crown of freedom.

It is the outcome of the struggles with the various forms of tyranny in the past that gives us confidence in humanity. The words of those who have wrested authority from usurpers are the words of the God of Truth and Right speaking down the ages and inspiring men to better things. The American people need but the inspiration of these voices to rise up and drive from their midst this latest and most corrupting form of tyranny. Then they may go forward, showing their professional Christianity by heeding the words of its founder, and serving, not the god of paltry gold, but the God of Love and Righteousness.

EMILIO CASTELAR.

By William Byron Kelly.

[Second Honor Oration, 1891, marked first in Thought and Composition and sixth in Delivery.]

In a sequestered corner of busy Europe lies Spain, a strange, romantic land, seldom visited by travelers. Her customs, her great men are little known, for she lies outside the channels through which we gain knowledge of most of the nations of Europe and centuries of despotism have deprived her of the sympathy of republicanism. At the beginning of this century she seemed untouched by those political and social revolutions which have modernized Europe. A few spasmodic awakenings and

bloody rebellions had indeed troubled her slumbers, yet they failed to arouse her sleeping spirit from the darkness of the Middle Ages. Her institutions had changed so little in the past three hundred years that she seemed destined to sleep on until the day of Judgment. And had the Angel Gabriel noticed the lethargy of her living, he might well have despaired of awakening her dead.

Yet at the coming celebration of the four hundredth anniversary of the discovery of America, our country's most honored guest will be a Spaniard, Emilio Castelar, "the glory of the Castilian rostrum," the most advanced exponent of nineteenth century democracy in Europe to-day. He will be especially endeared to the American people because on the Continent he is the ablest advocate of those principles for which we have spent so much treasure and blood,—Liberty and Federal Union.

No character in modern times is so striking as Castelar's. His history reads like a drama. In his early days Spain's name was a synonym for penury. I do not exagerate when I say that the queen, the priests, and the nobles united to uphold corruption, bigotry, and robbery. The liaisons of the court were open scandals. As both baptism and burial were denied to all but one faith, it seemed that a man was allowed neither to enter nor depart from the Land of the Living without a passport from Rome. The Archbishop of Toledo had a larger rent-roll than the king of Portugal. The nobles, that they might live in riotous luxury, starved their tenants.

In eighteen hundred and fifty-four Spanish indignation had burst into blind rebellion. On September the twenty-second there was a stormy gathering of electors at the Orient Theater in Madrid. The chief men of Spain had spoken. The hour was late and the revolting mob was leaving the hall when Castelar, a stripling of twenty-two, arose from the audience and hastened to the platform. Now it is an easy matter to excite mobs by abstractions which they cannot comprehend. But to make the masses understand a measure is a difficult task. Castelar's plans were clean cut and clear. He advocated not only progress, but law and order too, that ground once gained might be gained forever. As he spoke the seething mass grew quiet. Now bursting into frenzied applause, now silent as the tomb, his audience as if enchanted was transfixed before him. That speech made Castelar immortal. From that time on he gave his life and his talents to

his country. Years of close study had placed the history of the world at his command. Before he was thirty Castelar was known as the most learned professor in the University of Madrid, the most brilliant journalist and the most effective orator in Spain. From the professor's chair, the press, and the rostrum he advocated the separation of church and state, freedom of the press, universal education, universal suffrage, and abolition of slavery in Cuba. With scathing eloquence he awed the priests into silence. The boldest Royalist dared not oppose him.

Such was his career until eighteen hundred and sixty-four when his doctrines cost him his professorship. Two years later he was sentenced to death on the charge of inciting rebellion, but escaped to France, from whence he filled the magazines of Europe with his republican principles. When the degenerate Isabel was expelled in eighteen sixty-eight, Castelar returned to Spain. Exile had deified him. From Barcelona to Madrid his march was grander than the triumph of a Roman conqueror. "Give place to Castelar" was the cry in every assembly. The people worshiped him. His word was law.

But his republic was not yet to be. The crown was given to Amadeo of Italy, whose reign was to be short and troubled. In his baptism of scorn the new monarch received the irreverent title "Macaroni I., Italian king of the Spaniards." The nobles called him the intruder king. He had no party to support him. He could not reign. So, shaking the dust of Spain from his feet, he returned to his possessions in Aosta. Then Castelar thought the hour for free government had come. His invincible eloquence silenced opposition. From a mass of ignorance, bigotry and anarchy, he built a republic. But Figueras, its first president, resigned after two months. And then, when no human agency could have saved the government, Castelar was made dictator.

Free government to the ignorant Spaniards meant nothing more than free bull fights. The army was disorganized, the treasury empty, fierce war was raging in Cuba, and the political parties were, not as we see them tolerant opponents, but mortal and historic enemies. When General Pavia closed the Cortas, the republic was at an end. But no dictatorship had ever been more pure or liberal. He had shed not a drop of blood. Fighting against fate, his every act was a master stroke and the gloom of disaster seemed but the artistic setting for his brilliancy of genius. The provisional government offered him a cabinet office, but he replied

"My Conscience and my honor forbid me to hold office in a state created by bayonets." Castelar vowed never to serve any but an absolutely republican government, and the great tribune has kept his oath.

Do you tell me that his republic was a failure? Was it a failure when it taught every Spaniard that within him lay an element, which if aroused, could drive a monarch from a throne, and which if tempered. could itself be monarch? Was it a failure when it sowed seeds of republicanism over all Europe? Was it a failure when, seventeen years later, its magic seeds borne on the Atlantic breezes to the new world fell on the shores of Brazil, and from that inspired dream of Castelar there sprang up a republic without a stain of blood upon its flag, leaving no kings but Nature's in the two Americas?

We Americans can find no praise sweet enough for Washington and Hamilton, for Adams and Jefferson, because they were the founders of the first American republic. But the blood of the Saxon, unpolluted by tyranny, flowed in the veins of our forefathers. Three thousand miles of ocean separated them from their oppressors. They were the most enlightened people on the face of the globe. Their soil was free from old institutions. The rugged life they were compelled to lead, the very freshness of the air they breathed inspired freedom. Their monarch as well as themselves had always boasted that liberty was the birthright of every Englishman. Yet the American patriots had to pass through one of the most bloody wars in history to secure that birthright. While in Spain absolutism was almost as old as the soil itself. The ignorant peasant thought the despot and the robbing grandee necessary to the life of the state. Having these conditions Castelar revolutionized his country without force of arms. With no tools but those he forged in flaming eloquence, he undermined the once proudest throne of Europe and has left Spain a republic all but in name.

Castelar's powers are as varied as genius itself. Like Swift he could rule his country by pamphlets. Like Mirabeau he could rouse his hearers to frenzy and like Webster overpower them with the majesty of his thought. Pitt could not delight listeners by figures from his budget and Burke talked to yawning Commons. Castelar, as learned as either, drew a charmed circle around all within a radius of his voice, and though he spoke for hours not a man wished to stir. Nature made Castelar an ideal orator. His

physique is grand. His god-like brow suggests Webster. His voice is perfect. His slightest whisper fills the largest hall and his blasts of invective, though they have the volume of Salvini's thunder, never grate upon the ear.

I know it is difficult to estimate justly a living man. He is surrounded by loves and hates. He often conceals his real intent for years are the test of statesmanship. Yet the permanency of Castelar's work is already evident. As we scan the history of Europe for the past thirty years, three figures stand pre-eminent, Gladstone, Bismarck, and Gambetta. But if success in life is to be measured by obstacles overcome, by what it achieves, Castelar is greater than Gladstone, greater than Bismarck, greater than Gambetta.

Gladstone's chief claim to a name in history is his work for Ireland. Following in the footsteps of Grattan he sought to relieve Ireland's woes by British legislation rather than by Irish education. The enlightened nation to which he appealed has left Ireland's wrongs still unrighted and Gladstone's work is to be finished in years yet to come.

Bismarck excluded Austria from the North German Confederation, placed Prussia at its head, with the best trained army in Europe whipped disorganized France and has since maintained German unity by questionable diplomacy and the suppression of constitutional liberty. He lashed rather than lead his people forward, and the great "Chancellor of Blood and Iron" has fallen—fallen as history must show because an impediment to justice?

Gambetta, using Louis Napoleon's mad career as the foil of his ambition, at a time when the French had suffered inglorious defeat from the hated Germans, with splendid eloquence pictured monarchy as the cause of French disasters. He re-established the French republic and upheld it. How? By skillful juggling of electoral systems.

Castelar's genius consisted far less in his ability to manipulate party machines. Gambetta looked merely to the present, Castelar to the future. Gambetta's audience was France, Castelar's the world. Gambetta roused to action by the terror of his personality, Castelar by the grandeur of his ideas.

Castelar found a people which either broke out into blind rebellion at oppression when it became unbearable or which thought by-gone glory a panacea for all present ills. The Spaniards' poverty stricken bosoms swelled with pride when they thought of the

almost boundless empire of Charles II. The Spaniards can live on pride, so they submitted to the miseries of monarchy because they read in it the glories of the past. Castelar forsook all hopes of wealth or office. For years with untiring patience he strove to make the Spaniard think. "Change the idea," says Castelar, "and you change the institution, for where the idea is wanting, the institution cannot stand." And as the thousands thronged to hear him, he turned their eyes from the glories of the past to the possibilities of the future. He stripped from tyranny its gorgeous garb of tradition and laid bare its horrid form. He pointed to the many fields of bigotry and superstition on which the bones of the Spanish cavaliers were mouldering, and he changed the idea so that this same Spanish valor will one day serve Liberty with equal ardor.

If it be the mark of a statesman to sow seeds for the future; if it be a superb tribute to an orator's genius to have held undisputed sway for thirty years over a people whose proverbial fickleness deprives a minister all-powerful in one assembly of even a seat in the next; if it be the glory of a patriot to have restored his fallen country to her historic rank among nations; if it be the crowning triumph of a philanthropist to have set for advancing civilization the grandest example of a revolution without blood, then the greatest man of our day is that inspired tribune of Spain, Emilio Castelar.

Jesse Elmer Roberts.

Jesse Elmer Roberts was born at Rensaelaer, Ind., Nov. 3, 1865. Nothing occurred in his early youth to make his life any more eventful than that of the average farmer boy. He early developed a passion for history, and especially American history. In order to obtain an education he was obliged to rely in great measure on his own resources. At the age of nineteen he began teaching in a district school. Between terms he attended a business college at Indianapolis, from which he graduated in 1886. He afterwards attended the Northern Indiana Normal School at Valparaiso, but when within one year of graduation he was obliged to relinquish his studies on account of failing health, and sought the more genial climate of Southern California. During his three years' absence he was actively engaged in teaching; was one year

principal of the Grammar School at Banning, Cal. The next year he occupied a similar position at Old St. Bernardino. The last year of his residence in California he was a member of the Board of Education of San Bernardino County.

In the autumn of 1890 he returned East and entered the Law Department of the University of Michigan, pursuing at the same time special courses in the Literary Department in his favorite lines of History, Political Economy and Rhetoric. Although his study of Elocution was begun some years before at Valparaiso, Ind., he insisted upon taking the elementary courses offered in the Law School on this subject, and was not slow to profit by his instruction. His study of forensic oratory and orators was most painstaking, and in the classes in oral discussions few of his fellows could cope with him. He is earnest but calm and dignified in address, is possessed of a clear, strong, sympathetic voice, not so voluminous as penetrating, not so varied in melody as rhythmical and persuasive in tone.

In the second annual contest of the University Oratorical Association, Mr. Roberts was awarded the first honor on his oration on "American Materialism." This entitled him to represent the University in the contest of the Northern Oratorical League, where in the final decision he was awarded third place.

Mr. Roberts received the degree of L. L. B. from the University of Michigan with the class of '92, having been chosen by his classmates as valedictorian for their class-day exercises.

On completing his course he went immediately to the city of Chicago, where he seeured a position in the office of Mr. Percival Steele, an experienced and prosperous attorney. So successful was he in arguing his cases in the Chicago courts that in less than two years he became a member of the firm of Steele & Roberts, for which he now does the major part of the court work.

AMERICAN MATERIALISM.

By Jesse Elmer Roberts.

[First Honor Oration 1892, marked first in Thought and Composition and second in Delivery; in the League contest it received third rank.]

Every nation has some characteristic peculiar to itself, a stamp as it were, which distinguishes it from all other nations. The indolence of the Spanish, the politeness of the French, and the determination of the British are all familiar national features

by which those people are known the world over. The American nation, though still young as compared with some of her older sisters, is not without those traits of character which mark the individuality of a people. The immense accumulation of wealth within two generations of men has made our people known in the civilized world by their materialism. So great is their material prosperity that the terms "bonanza" and "millionaire" have become household words. No nation, ancient or modern, has excelled the Americans in taming the energies of nature, in turning them aside from their ordinary course and commanding them to minister to the wants of the people and to promote their well being. So universal is the thrift of our people and with such ardor do they seek riches, that Europeans have supposed them to be entirely absorbed in the passion for wealth. That lofty genius, Thomas Carlyle, to whom the world of letters owes so much, said of his American cousins, "They have produced no great human soul, no great thought, or no great and noble thing that one can worship or loyally admire." There are, too, some Americans who often say that in the rush and hurry of our active business life we have laid aside the virtue of the Fathers. But does the possession of great quantities of corn, cotton, wheat, and money unfit us for fostering and enjoying that culture which as Europeans constantly say, is found only on their side of the waters; or does American enterprise and ingenuity so dull the moral sense that it may be truthfully said, we are rushing blindly on to destruction?

The silent and ever active force which has been at work in all American industry, preparing an abode for mankind where the "full tide of human existence" may be enjoyed, is too commonly overlooked. Then why this great overflow of wealth? Whence the spring from which flows this great material progress? The magic force which has produced this great miracle is Liberty. Unrestrained human action has here taken the same course that it ever has since Liberty first awoke in the sunny vales of Greece. Freedom of the human mind in society has everywhere been the mainspring of all art, all literature, and all great and enduring material prosperity. The political and intellectual freedom born of the rugged Teutonic character and the Protestant Reformation first awakened the industrial and commercial energies of conquered England and finally established her language, laws and literature in the uttermost parts of the Earth; and here in America, the most complete Liberty of all time is the source of our unparalleled

progress which is the glory of the Western World and the amazement of the Eastern.

Because of their freedom the Americans have transformed the knowledge of the ages into action. They have turned to practical use the philosophy of the Bacons, and Aristotles, and are thus increasing the productive power of mankind a thousand fold. The intellectual force which, in Europe, is fettered by a landed aristocracy and vast standing armies, is in America, liberated and utilized in the creation of colossal fortunes, in providing the comforts of life, and in diffusing intelligence. From the great reservoir of knowledge, filled by the pouring in of a thousand crystal streams, bearing wisdom from the fountains of learning of the past, they have made copious draughts, and have irrigated their broad country with intelligence, and as a result their harvests have excelled the returns of the Nile, and filled their granaries to overflowing.

The critics who denounce American institutions because of the unequal distribution of wealth, and the average European who represents us as disciples of Mammon lacking in the culture of Europe, have failed to divine the true American spirit. That there are conditions of society in America, which could be bettered none can deny, but those who find no good in our people have failed to see far enough beneath the surface to behold the firm foundation of the American character. They hear the din of a political campaign, and the clarion note of the demagogue; they see the iniquities of a few unscrupulous politicians, and conclude that the Republic is on the brink of ruin. But they never contemplate the condition of our society the next day after the elections, when the busy hum of the great industrial hive is again resumed; when her citizens receive their just dues at the bar of justice; when the eloquence of thousands of pulpits disseminates an elevated religious sentiment; when the halls of learning resound with the cheerful voices of millions of school children and ambitious students. All these are the marks of the true American character, and Henry George and Thomas Carlyle failed to give due credit to them when they criticised the American people and American institutions.

We cannot deny the imperfections of our society; we should not wish to; but we do demand that the truth, the whole truth, be told of us. If foreigners would study our institutions as they study art and science, and if some of our own pessimists would

observe the people as they observe the public servants, they would inevitably conclude that, with all our pride and self-esteem, with all the imperfections they can point out, American society has reached a high plane of life; that her great captains of science and ten thousand lieutenants have led the hosts out of the shadows of ignorance and discontent into the sunlight of intelligence and prosperity.

But we are told that the Republic is entering a state of degeneracy that characterized the decline of ancient civilization; that our prosperity is a menace to a higher civilization; that we are on the highway down which Greece and Rome plunged to ruin. That there is a course of humanity to run—a destiny for it to accomplish—that nations grow, flourish and decay, our best philosophers tell us is the true order of things, and while our nation may be destined to follow the inevitable law of the growth and decay of civilization, her materialism does not necessarily indicate decay. This giant has but begun to grow. The growing pains of its youth are still to be felt. The waste is great but the growth is greater. The day of mellow maturity is scarcely breaking over the hills of New England.

Besides there is a radical difference between ancient nations and our Republic. The Pyramids of Egypt and the temples of South America are the grave-stones of those ancient nations, but America has not yet begun her tomb. Those silent monitors mark the selfish dictates of hated monarchs, the toil of millions of unhappy people, and the wasted resources of the most fertile portions of the earth. They stand as perpetual memorials of the fate of civilizations builded upon tyranny and slavery. But such is not the American civilization. Its foundation is freedom. Freedom of every kind, political, religious, social and intellectual. The simple justice of Him who taught on the shores of Galilee is the central truth of all our Great Charters. Man is free to seek happiness in his own way, to worship his God under his own vine and fig tree, and to select those who shall govern him. No monarch prescribes his sphere or the duties of that sphere. American progress, therefore, is not that of Egypt, or Greece, or Rome. Their wealth and their learning were enjoyed only by the few. Their civilizations were narrow and selfish, but the American civilization is for the whole people. They have opened wide the door to all their great natural resources and have quickened the mind of every citizen.

If, in the great material development, the intellect of our country has been expanded and strengthened, no less has our morality been enlarged and perfected in the use of our wealth. The American character is so thoroughly imbued with the spirit of humanity, that all the action here, consciously or unconsciously, tends toward the improvement of the whole people. In no way is the moral stability better seen than in the wise distribution of their great wealth. The people build no dazzling thrones for a Sultan or a Czar; they lavish no money in splendid courts; their life blood is not sapped to sustain a vast enginery of war, that the balance of power may remain undisturbed; but threading the country with electric wires and banding it with rails of iron they have united into one industrial and commercial brotherhood, the East with the West and the North with the South; they have dotted their vast territory from the Atlantic to the Pacific, with great cities, and have furnished their millions of inhabitants with every improvement that science and skill can devise for convenience and comfort. Men like Peter Cooper have founded innumerable hospitals and asylums for the sick and unfortunate; that pure Christianity untrammeled by any state or tribunal may be everywhere diffused, broad and liberal minded citizens, out of their own private munificence, have built temples of religion far surpassing in number those of any nation in Europe; with the great streams of revenue flowing into their public coffers they have erected a school house in every community, however remote, a high school in every town, and founded a University in every State.

Such is the distribution of our great wealth. The wealth of the two Americas which Columbus gave to Spain, making her for the time the richest and most powerful nation of the world, was forever destroyed on the battle grounds of Europe, and sunk beneath the waves with the great Armada; but the wealth which America and Freedom have given to Americans, flows in perennial streams among the people and enriches them with peace, happiness and contentment. Their energy and their enterprise in producing this great wealth have not been in vain, for they have used it in laying the foundation of a wide civilization which will stand, let us hope, like the Pyramids of Egypt, undaunted by the ages. They have used it in preparing for a wider and more complete life—a life for the enjoyment of those things which "eye hath not seen and ear hath not heard," into which not only the favored few

shall enter, but the whole brotherhood of man. This is the fruit of American materialism.

THE GROWTH OF INTERNATIONALISM.

By Newton Jaspar McGuire.

[Second Honor Oration 1892, marked sixth in Thought and Composition and first in Delivery.]

Internationalism is today an infant. It shall one day be a giant in whose arms will unite the strength of many nations.

Look the future squarely in the face; discard all theories and philosophies; confine yourselves to the humbler but safer bounds of political and social history and judge from past and present achievements. In the next quarter of a century there will be marked progress toward universal peace and international government. Such an advancement will be the simple and natural outcome of the present state of things. For the hoary head of history stands as a monument to the truth that great institutions do not spring full grown from the brain of heroic revolutionists; they have their real origin in almost hidden sources. The land-marks of history are not abrupt peaks; they are the summits of gradual elevations. Their foundations run deep into the soil of the past.

The growth of Internationalism is of two kinds—one, of arbitration; the other, of political, social and commercial unity and intercourse. One furls the flag of brute force; the other unfurls the banner of peaceful enterprise.

The development of the principles of Arbitration is attracting the attention of the entire civilized world. It will eventually lead all nations, as it has led the republics of the three Americas, to the establishment of a means by which all international difficulties may be settled without the intervention of arms, or even long, extended diplomacy. Men resort to arms only for want of a better expedient. When nations by means of international laws can settle international controversies by a body of disinterested arbitrators whose decisions are final, then I say, the world will have taken an important step toward human prosperity, that will make every patriot prouder of his country—prouder of her past record, her present achievements and prouder still of the inspiration given to her future.

Can we produce a logical argument against the establishment of an International Tribunal of Arbitration? Is there not an

established peaceful method of settling all other difficulties except those involving nations? Shall we say that it is an utter impossibility to set the great international heart, with all its arteries extending to the very capillaries of civilization, throbbing with the life blood of such a reasonable measure? The absurdity of such a position is shown by the course of the life current of the age, as it flows toward that time, when all men "shall beat their swords into plowshares, and their spears into pruning hooks; when nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more."

Turn back in history, over the bloody arena of the past. From the time of Hannibal down to the Siege of Paris, the cruelties of war between nations have only blazed the way to arbitration, perhaps rude and one-sided in its early stages, and if not the prototype, at least the forerunner, conditioning and heralding the future consummation of a World's Tribunal. That tribunal will promote the supremacy of law as opposed to force, and the sovereignty of the people as opposed to the sovereignty of kings.

Behold the first good seed that brought forth good fruit—the first restriction on the severities of civilized warfare. Twenty-four years ago, at Geneva, Switzerland, a score of the most powerful nations on earth joined hands and formed the international "Society of the Red Cross." Their object was to improve the hospital service, and to care for wounded soldiers on the battlefield. Never, at first trial, was success so perfect as was that of these savers of human life in the Franco-Prussian War. Now, over armies and sovereigns, over people and states, over peace and war, floats and will forever float the first anti-war banner of hope, of humanity, of Christian civilization,—the banner of the Red Cross.

In the last half century a score or more of international disputes have been settled by arbitration. The United States, since her birth, has been a party to no less than sixteen such settlements. A plan of arbitration has been accepted for the settlement of the great Bering Sea difficulty. Such a settlement will establish a precedent that will go far toward destroying traditional animosities, and uniting with indissoluble ties of friendship the two great branches of the English-speaking people.

The formation of the "Triple Alliance" by Germany, Austria and Italy in 1879, is at present the surest guaranty of the peace of Europe. These three nations are each bound to support the

others if attacked. Their combined strength defies the single-handed attack of any other nation. While public sentiment, on account of old feuds and hereditary hatred, prevented Europe from leading off in the matter of arbitration, she has shown her willingness to follow where All-America recently led in that great Pan-American Congress. In the language of Gen. Sherman "The whole world turns to find the result of our experiment." Whittier says, "War is now made well nigh impossible in the Western Hemisphere, and the most important event in the history of all Christendom is marked." Its honored president, that great American statesman, in his parting words to the delegates, said, "Our action commands the attention of the world, to the deliberate, confident, solemn dedication of two great continents to peace, and to prosperity which has peace for its foundation; we hold up this new Magna Charta, which abolishes war and substitutes arbitration between the American Republics as the first great fruit of the International American Conference."

That congress called forth the plaudits of enlightened mankind, and owing to its transcendant character will in the future be considered the most brilliant triumph of civilization, giving birth to many other conferences, two of which, the Monetary and Pan-Republic are now under way, each in its turn winning, welding and banding the hearts of nations till they beat as one;

> "Till the war-drum throbs no longer, and the battle-flags are furled
> In the Parliament of man, the Federation of the world;
> Till the common sense of most shall hold a fretful realm in awe,
> And the kindly earth shall slumber, lapped in universal law."

New and clearer horizons open today to the free nations under the auspices of concord and peace. The time is long past when any great producing or commercial country can, oyster like, withdraw into its shell and thrive upon what comes to it. Hence along with the development of diplomacy and the supremacy of peace, the spirit of enterprise marches with irresistible impulses; the political, social and commercial unity and intercourse of nations assume colossal proportions and each division of time contributes to their international growth.

The art of printing and the harnessing of steam and electricity are the greatest physical agents tending to unite the nations of the world into one great family; promoting their mutual enterprises, and lubricating the wheels of national industry, till in a score of different channels there is an international demand for unity and

action. The numerous international bureaus, societies, conferences, and unions, mostly commercial, that have been formed, indicate clearly that nations are ripening to the opinion that their individual property can be better promoted under laws and reciprocal relations for the universal good, than by national celibacy. Unity of weights and measures, longitude and time, together with quarantine, patent and copyright laws, are being perfected. A universal language and a common coin standard are earnestly encouraged. The latter now exists, it is true under different names, yet equivalent and interchangeable with each other in five different countries of Europe, while America recently tried to solve the matter by a separate international conference.

The late Brussels and Berlin congresses, respectively aiming to suppress the African slave trade and promote the coronation of labor, the four quinquennial congresses of the Postal Union, which now includes nearly all of the civilized countries of the globe and which has reduced the one thousand and more different postal rates to a surprisingly small number, and the ten Atlantic cables, whose dispatches far outstrip the sun in his course, all these show the practical results of international unanimity of action.

The Suez Canal divided the Old World and opened a new and shorter pathway for commerce, and the Panama and Nicaragua will do likewise for the New. Then the positive and negative ends of the great commercial magnet will meet and adhere, the Orient will doff her hat to the Occident. Commercial enterprise will band the continents with lines of steel and girdle the Oceans with the argosies of every country and every clime. The spoken languages of the world still continue to be many but the International Code of Signals indicates that the unspoken language of the Sea must be one.

After glancing over the political, social and commercial unity and intercourse of nations, we find that the time is long past when Free America looks to European precedents as her guide; she comes forward with an assemblage of nations, to which have been submitted problems of more significance and complexity, than were ever before recorded in the annals of history. She establishes a commercial bureau. She recommends the establishment of a merchant marine and international banks and clearing houses. And among her greatest acts she recommends the construction of an intercontinental railway. This will put the extreme ends of the New World in direct communication. The iron horse will start

under the rays of the North Star, dart Southward, through the St. Clair Channel, across the States, down the backbone of Panama, over that proposed commercial highway, along the Pacific Shore and over the Andes, to the plains of the La Plata, into the regions of the Southern Cross, ten thousand miles away. With this great artery of commerce the march of empire will be southward and the march of internationalism will be onward.

In the coming great panorama of nations in the city of Chicago, Columbia will illustrate the phenomenal developments of the past, unfold the marvelous possibilities of the future and afford the most splendid opportunity in all history, for fusing the world's liberalizing and humanizing forces, for diffusing international intelligence, for inspiring the development of enlightened policies for the government of the earth. She will invite all nations to join with her in a Pan-Republic Congress. That congress will be composed of two houses. One, representing Republican Governments, the other, those countries standing for freedom and human progress irrespective of government. Both will have the common object of promoting the universal spread of free institutions and the reign of intelligence and moral purpose, over brute force. By the light of political and social history the "Growth of Internationalism" takes its inspiration from the Red Cross, the Triple Alliance, the increasing peaceful international settlements, and the late agreement of the United States with Latin America to silence the throbbing of the war drum and furl the battle flag; from the attempts of enlightened humanity to form a confederate world—to bind themselves together with every tie of common interest within the power of man to invent or of nature to unfold. Peace unites the hearts of nations. Canals wed the oceans. Cables join the continents. And internationalism strides onward toward—

> "The one far off, divine event
> To which the whole creation moves."

Lindley Grant Long.

Lindley Grant Long was born near Quaker City, Ohio, July 17, 1868, of Anglo-German parentage. The first seventeen years of his life were spent on the farm. In 1886 he entered the Ohio Normal University, at Ada, where for one year he pursued studies preparatory to teaching. The following year he taught his home school, and as evidence of his success he was offered the same

place the next year. But having determined to secure a college education he refused the offer and in 1888 entered the Ohio Wesleyan University, where he remained three years, two of which were spent in the Preparatory department. Early in his course his ability as a speaker began to assert itself and when he entered the collegiate department the Freshman class chose him as their orator.

In the fall of 1891 Mr. Long entered the Sophomore class of the University of Michigan, two years later, while still pursuing studies in the Literary department, he registered in the Law school with the class of '95, and now expects to receive his degree from both departments at the same time.

During his college career Mr. Long has been active in various lines; in athletics, in politics and in oratory.

In politics he is a leader; was vice-president of his class and of the Oratorical Association; for three years he has been an active member of the University Republican Club, serving one year on the executive committee, and acting as one of its delegates to the Syracuse and Grand Rapids conventions, and in April, 1895, was selected delegate of the University of Michigan to the National Republican League convention, to be held in Cleveland, June 19, 1895. At home, in the summer of 1894, he was elected a delegate to his county convention and was chosen its presiding officer.

But it is in oratory that Mr. Long has achieved his greatest success. In 1893 he won first place in the annual contest of the University Oratorical Association, and in the contest of the Northern Oratorical League he received the rank of first place by five of the six judges and second by the remaining judge. In April, 1894, he was selected to give the principal oration before the convention of College Republican Clubs, at Syracuse, N. Y., on "The Scholar in Politics."

These successes gave him more than a local reputation, for the Supreme Executive Committee of the Kappa Sigma fraternity chose him as orator for their Eleventh Biennial Conclave, held at Richmond, Va., in Oct., 1894, where he spoke on "The Unity of Thought, the Fraternity of Action." In 1895 Mr. Long was honored with the "Faculty Appointment," as the member of the senior class best qualified to represent the University as orator at one of the celebrations given by the Union League Club, of Chicago, on Washington's Birthday. These celebrations, given

annually to foster patriotism, are addressed by student representatives of ten leading universities. Mr. Long's address on "The Heritage of the American Child," was delivered before a large audience at Englewood High School Hall.

In May, 1895, in a public contest for class orator of the Senior Law class, Mr. Long was awarded first place by the judges.

Mr. Long's success as a speaker has not been accidental, but is the result of the hardest kind of work. He has been a thorough and persistent student of Rhetoric, Elocution, and Oratory since he first entered college. In debate he has few equals among the students, he is rapid, terse, logical, and quick to discover weak points in an opponent's argument. His delivery is characterized by great physical earnestness; his voice is strong, agreeable, penetrating; his action graceful, appropriate and full of force, and while at the beginning of a speech he is not particularly engaging, yet he compels attention, and the interest is heightened to the end.

RELATION OF MODERN -ISMS TO PROGRESS.

By Lindley Grant Long.

[First Honor Oration in 1894 at the University of Michigan and in the Northern Oratorical League. In the former contest Mr. Long was ranked third in Thought and Composition, and first in Delivery; in the League contest he received first rank both in Thought and Composition, and in Delivery.]

Man ever aspires to rise above his present level. Consciously or unconsciously he moves onward and upward. With or without clearly defined methods, he labors to diminish human misery and increase human happiness. The past has seen his plans poorly developed. Present philosophy has a clearer conception of life's problems, and better theories for their solution. The present social discontent has produced various theories of social reconstruction. Prominent among these are Nihilism, Anarchism, Communism, and Socialism. These four are alike, in that they spring from a common cause and are means aimed at a common end.

To understand the relation of modern -isms to progress, it is necessary to know what constitutes progress now. The word progress is ambiguous. To crown a king may be progress to-day; to dethrone him may be progress to-morrow. To foster monopoly may have been progress yesterday; to muzzle monopoly may be

progress to-day. Hence, a clear conception of present social conditions is necessary to a perfect understanding of the relation of modern -isms to progress.

We live in the present, but for the future. To forecast the future, we must understand the present; to understand the present, we must know the past. Let us turn to history and learn her secret. She teaches us that man loves liberty, and hates oppression. Though hated, oppression has been the great fact in history. Its insidiousness catches man in the snare of his own instincts. Being religious, he is religiously oppressed. Being political, political burdens are heaped upon him. Being industrial, the chains of industrial slavery are forged.

Let us consider these three. Religion is the noblest instinct of the soul. It is the divine in man reaching out after God. It lifts the savage from savagery; it breaks the chains of slavery; it opens the prison cell. It calms the angry waves of passion that roll in the human breast. Religion is the beneficent mother of faith, hope, charity. Justice and mercy are her attributes, love her offspring, and God her father. Yet, man's noblest possession has been most basely abused. The crystal stream of religion has been polluted by the dregs of human corruption.

Planted in the virgin soil of a true religion, the Christian Church grew to enormous dimensions. Under the shadow of its branches slept an entire continent. Its first fruits were fruits of truth and righteousness. Its degenerate old age reaped a harvest of corruption. From stem and every branch breathed forth a foul contagion that poisoned the very air in which it lived. But behold, shivered by the thunderbolts of the Reformation, this giant Upas-tree withers and falls; and from its rotting stump spring the new branches, Protestant and new Catholic, which blossom and bear the fruits of a true religion. This marks the downfall of religious despotism.

Man lives not to himself alone. His social nature forbids it. Against individuality is opposed society. If society would realize its highest possibilities, it must be organized, directed; hence the state, the government. Without government society would be chaos. Government anchors society to a rational purpose. It supplies the conditions under which the social plant may germinate, flower, and fructify. It guides the latent energies of a nation into channels of highest good. Around each humble subject it throws the mantle of protection.

The essence of government is an undoubted good. The form has been the riddle of the ages. Monarchy, Aristocracy, Tyranny, Plutocracy, Despotism,—all have been weighed in the balance and found wanting. Yet, government is indispensable. Whether government shall or shall not exist, the common sense of humanity has settled. The question is: Whence the power that propels the the governmental machine? Is it from the throne or from the hearth-stone? History says it has been from the throne, shall be from the hearth-stone. Caesar is dead. Hapsburg and Bourbon have fallen. Their spirit still survives. Clad in imperial garb, it sits today on the Russian throne. Freedom bathed her hands in royal blood and stained the Bourbon lily. It remains for her to throttle the Russian bear. Political tyranny is not dead. Political freedom is but a half-truth.

Industry is the mainspring to civilization. War may batter down the barriers between petty states and weld them into a nation. Religion may proclaim the brotherhood of man, and teach that all men should live together in harmony. Industry brings men face to face, and binds them together with cords of mutual interest. Industry has its roots in human wants. These generate the power that drives the industrial machine. The waving harvest, the buzizng spindle, the flaming furnace, are but the servants of man's wants. The thundering train bearing its costly burden, the stately vessel plowing the mighty deep, are driven by the magnetic power of human wants.

We stand at the confluence of all the industrial forces of the past. This is an Augustan age of industry. Art, literature, philosophy, politics, religion, are secondary to the one all-pervading, all-consuming idea—industry. Science has lent a helping hand in rearing this colossal structure. Every great age boasts of its great products. What are the boasts of the present age?—millionaire, —tramp. The sixteenth century saw religious despotism. The eighteenth century saw political despotism. The nineteenth century sees industrial despotism. And today the sultan Capital sits on the industrial throne.

The many have ever been servants to the few. Since his first bondage, man has longed for freedom. Listen to the mummified millions buried in the sands of Egypt. "Man's inhumanity to man makes countless thousands mourn." Hearken to the sad notes of the Greek slave. Under the shadow of the loftiest mountain surges the deepest sea. Under the shadow of Plato's genius

surges the deepest misery. What can the Roman slave say of Roman splendor? "To be a Roman was greater than a king," but not to be a Roman was worse than a beast. Listen to the wail rising from the forgotten grave of the German serf. Princes, priests, and plutocrats have been the plunderers of the poor. Above the din of Industry hear the voice of Labor. "The paupers in the palace rob their toiling fellow-men."

Religious despotism is dead. Political despotism still lives. Industrial despotism is at its best. With crying humanity on one hand, and gloating despotism on the other, what, I would ask, is progress today? If it be not battering down the bulworks of despotism, and setting prostrate humanity on its feet, what is it? If it be this, then the relation of modern -isms to progress can be expressed in one sentence: each is a thrust at modern tyranny.

Nihilism, Anarchism, Communism, and Socialism, have a single origin. They spring from the deep-seated discontent with present social conditions. They have swept the keys of the social gamut, and found nothing but discord. Touched by the magic fingers of this new philosophy, these jarring notes are to be transformed into strains of sweetest harmony. Shattered by one fell blow, the pillars of modern society must crumble, and be replaced by columns of a nobler form. The ideals of modern-isms may be a dream, but their existence illustrates an important fact. It proves that those who for centuries have been ground under the heel of tyranny are able to stand and strike. It is a good omen. It is the harbinger of a better day.

Nihilism is a shaft aimed at the breast of absolutism. Its philosophy is expressed in one word—destruction. What would it destroy? All is vanity: all must be destroyed. Whatever is, is wrong, and must perish. Friendship, love, family. state, church, God, are false, therefore must perish. Whence, you ask, is this dagger-pointed philosophy? It is a compound of despair and dread, the product of German pessimism and Russian tyranny.

Anarchism is the arch-enemy of government. Yet, much of the fear generated by the word is uncalled-for. Extract the nihilistic poison from Anarchy, and you have an example of faith in humanity unparalleled. Its philosophy soars on optimistic wings to heights where degraded humanity can never hope to climb. What is this little-understood, much-abused philosophy? Its major premise is: government is the root of all evil. Its minor: human nature is essentially good. From these premises the anar-

chist draws the conclusion, that government is unnecessary and that man, restrained by no law, save the law of his own being, will rise to the fullest realization of all the possibilities of his nature. This unbounded optimism of anarchy is its worst fault. It fails to treat humanity as it is.

Communism would cure social ills by applying religion. The communistic motto unlocks the entire system. "From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs." In communism the social unit is the group. Here everything is held in common. All labor, all share the product. Social equality, moral rigidity, industrial frugality, and passive obedience to the general will, are the main features of communism. Communism would destroy the family, crush personal liberty, strangle industry, and endanger nationality.

Nihilism and anarchism are essentially political. Communism is half-religious, half-industrial. Socialism is purely industrial. Socialism is the cold-blooded murderer of individualism. It is continental philosophy aiming the death blow at English philosophy; Karl Marx crossing swords with John Stuart Mill. Appalled by the wreck and ruin wrought by unbridled competition, socialism would overturn the entire competitive system. Socialists are not the enemies of rich men; but they despise an industrial system which builds mountains of wealth beside the hovels of abject poverty. What, then, is the socialistic programme? "The complete transformation of private and competing capitals into a united and collective capital." The strict logical sequence of this proposition is almost beyond conception. The present gigantic industrial fabric, built up by the brains of centuries, is to be swept away by the mountain-wave of socialism. How is this enormous revolution to be accomplished? By making the state complete owner and controller of all the means of production. Though making industry supreme, socialism destroys the strongest motive to industrial activity—self-interest. Striving to secure industrial liberty, it forges the chains of industrial slavery. To curb the excesses of an irresponsible individualism, it builds a paternal despotism.

As a model for there construction of society, modern -isms are a failure. As a force in the movement of progress, they are a success. The value of modern -isms lies in the fact that they are all extremes. Nihilism and anarchism are the opposite extremes of political despotism. Communism and socialism are the other

extreme of industrial individualism. Having these extremes, it is possible to strike the happy mean. The political mean is liberal, constitutional monarchy, or republican form of government. The industrial mean is a wise, and equitable adjustment of the relations between the individual and the state, in all means of industry. The state has its province, the individual his. What touches all, let the state control. What peculiarly concerns the individual, let him control. Along these lines the two great industrial problems of to-day must be solved,—Monopoly, Labor-problem. Monopoly is a tumor which pains all, and must be lanced by the instrument of all—government. The Labor-question is a question of liberty, and must be solved like all questions of liberty,—by those oppressed. Who wrung religious freedom from the hands of a tyrannical hierarchy? The religiously oppressed. Who buried the Bourbon throne under the ruins of a French empire? The politically oppressed. Who shall drag sable despotism from the industrial throne and set white-robed liberty there? The industrially oppressed. When religious, political, and industrial freedom shall be a truth; then will modern isms have fulfilled their mission; then will the joyful tongues of untold millions welcome the rising sun of a new day; then will man stand up and say, Liberty is mine.

THE RELATION OF EDUCATION TO REFORM IN THE UNITED STATES.

By James Brannan, Nelson.

[Second Honor Oration 1893, marked first in Thought and Composition and second in Delivery]

Every age, every nation, is confronted by problems peculiar to itself, and engendered by the conditions of its civilization. Different peoples, different periods may have effected their solution by different methods, but the medium through which every reform of history has been accomplished, has ever been the same. It has been through an awakened public sentiment. Whether aroused and inspired by the sublime faith and heroic courage of a Luther; whether incited by the violent eloquence of a Robespierre, or the iron will of a Napoleon; whether swayed by the persuasive logic of a Phillips, or stirred by the pathos of an Uncle Tom's cabin, public sentiment has been the invincible power back of every reform. Armies cannot subdue it, kings cannot destroy it.

It is the omnipotent power that enacts, enforces, enthrones, dethrones,—it is the absolute condition of lasting reform.

The great problems of to-day in the United States must and will be solved through it. No transient politcal party is ever to relieve society of the extinguishing tyranny, the blasting curse of rum; no one-ideaed association of men like the Knights of Labor, is ever to be entrusted with the political power to right the wrongs of their class; no aggregation of farmers, however active and untiring their efforts, are ever to become rich, through a grant of the political power which will enable them to place a government premium upon the growth of their fields or the avoirdupois of their swine. These reforms will come, not through third parties, but in spite of them. "To-day the sublimest forces of a Christian civilization are at work creating a public sentiment before which the evils must flee, as from the avenging angel of God."

Through conflict and war, public sentiment has ever led men towards the goal of freedom. It bristled in every feature of the Renaissance; it inspired every motto of the Reformation; it directed and impelled every movement of the American and French Revolutions. It has manumitted slaves, elevated woman, overthrown despotism, written constitutions, swept away privileges and abolished caste. To-day it is bearing Europe onward to popular government.

Public sentiment, however, may be as powerful for evil as for good. It has not only effected all the beneficent reforms, the darkest crimes of history are also to its credit. But yesterday, and milions of Jews were driven from Russia into poverty and exile not by the edict of Alevander III; no, but by the Russian conscience that made that edict possible. Today the brutal lynching of innocent negroes of the South, on the bare suspicion of guilt; the the recent diabolical torturing of the wretch in Texas in the presence of applauding thousands, is a blighting disgrace to the civilization in which it occurs. What is it that in all ages has burned, and shot, and hanged the world's martyrs and reformers? Not brutal law or cowardly assassin, it has been frenzied or insane public sentiment. Public sentiment killed Socrates; public sentiment confined Galileo within prison walls, and consigned Savonarola to the flames; public sentiment dragged Garrison from Fanueil Hall; public sentiment hanged the hero of Harper's Ferry; aye, public sentiment crucified the lowly Nazarene.

The question of the present is, how shall this sentiment be lifted from the influence of distracted passion and made a positive power for good. In less than thirty years, two significant elements have come into our body politic. Millions of foreigners have been naturalized, millions of bondmen have been made citizens in a day. Ignorant of our laws; unequal to the requirements of republican government; unmindful of their rights and privileges under our constitution; made formidable by the ballot; domineered by politicians, these elements stand a menace to free institutions.

Even today there is a tendency towards centralization of power in the political boss, who being a tyrant without responsibility, is a more dangerous factor than the hereditary autocrat. Bosses and demagogues organizing constitute a political machinery, which is the weal or woe of pending issues. Its soulless mission is to advance private ends. To such an organization composed of such an element, issue is nothing; general welfare, nothing; power of moral principle, nothing. It makes individual suffrage a mockery, and converts the state into a mere trick. Consulting only its private and vicious purpose in one campaign it hails and exalts political principles, which in the next it repudiates and casts down. Today demagogues dictate the policies of our political parties, direct their conflicts and divide their spoils. The United States with such a centralization, is in principle, as undemocratic and un-American as Russia with her Czar. No transient fanaticism, no local temporary frenzy, is to better this condition. It can be accomplished only through an intelligent public sentiment, which shall come, not from a favored few, but from every one who enjoys the protection and privileges of our constitution.

An intelligent public sentiment can be brought about only through universal intelligence, and universal intelligence, only through universal education by the state. That universal education in schools by the state makes a people strong and free is no longer speculative or visionary. French statesmen declare it was the schools of Germany that conquered at Sedan, hence France has adopted a thorough and universal system of schools. England has reformed on a new basis her educational system, and today an efficient system of popular education is being founded in Italy and in Spain.

In an absolute monarchy the relation of education to citizenship is not a practical question; general intelligence is not necessary.

To be an inhabitant of a country, subject to some supreme person, the payer of arbitrary taxes, does not require intelligence. But in the case of a government by the people, where philosopher and artisan, poet and mechanic, laborer and statesman, are political factors of equal importance, general intelligence is indispensible to the security and permanency of its institutions. Power thus granted and exercised, without competent direction, is an uncertain and dangerous quantity. It will waste as well as make; sack and burn as well as build cities; blow up as well as protect parliaments: undermine as well as write constitutions. Here comes in the province of the state, to order as a matter of its own security, conditions of growth such as will purify, elevate, and direct sentiment. It is not a step into Socialism for the state to provide and enforce measures for individual development. It makes the state a practical agent in the evolution of individualism. Universal education alone is practicable. To limit or restrict the suffrage is cowardly; to allow a man to vote who can neither read his vote nor write his name, absurd; to trust to the educational quality of the ballot, deliberate folly. We must educate the masses, or endure the aberrations of designing demagogues, and the blunders of brainless politicians.

A common school education is an essential condition of American citizenship; necessary as a foundation upon which to build moral and patriotic sentiment. Every person should of moral and civil right receive, by compulsion, so much education. The state demands it; the preservation of society demands it; the philosophy of democratic institutions demands it.

We have given free education to our infant poor, we have closed our factory doors against them, why not gather them into the schools, not schools where any certain religious faith is taught; not schools anti-Americanized by foreign languages, customs, and ideas, but free public schools which, recognizing the separation forever in this country of church and state, are thoroughly secularized, thoroughly democratized; schools which will call forth the sleeping might of righteousness from souls of wretchedness and want; schools which will lift ignorant humanity above the plane of the politician to that of responsible manhood; schools wherein the English language is used as the medium of ideas, and where habits of thrift and sentiments of honor are instilled; schools wherein the mind of the American youth is permeated with the principles of American independence, and where his

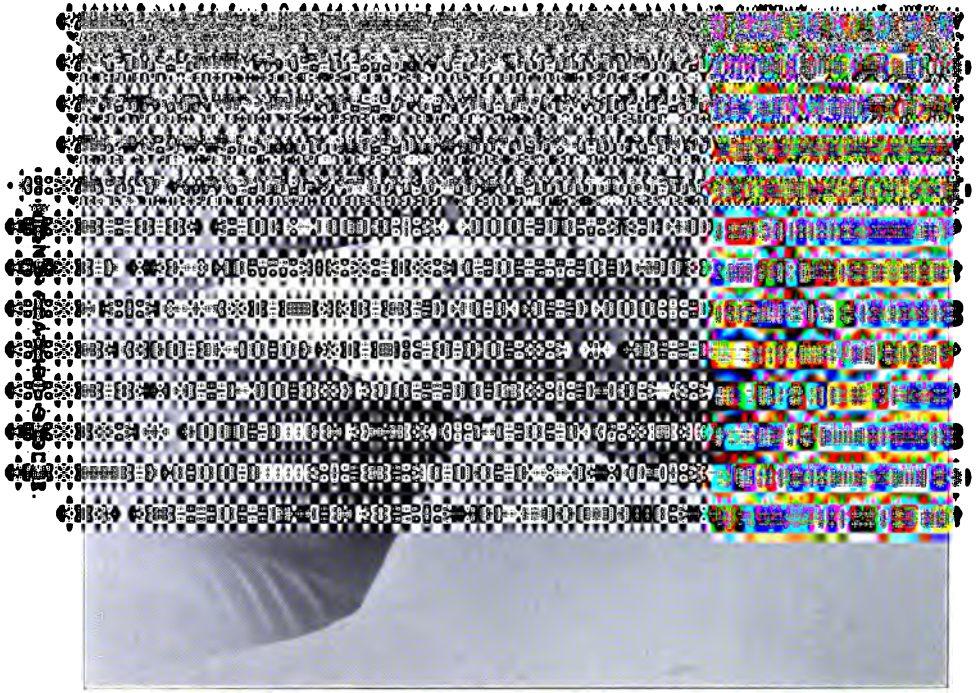
heart is filled with the glory of the American constellation. Should classes and sects maintain other schools at additional cost, the government cannot object. Let private and parochial schools exist, but let them be American. Compel them to maintain the standard of the free schools. Beyond this government is powerless.

Without a common school education of patriotic character our free institutions are unsafe. The only condition which will give power to the press, which will lend significance to our campaigns, and from which the corrective sentiment of our times can spring, is education. The vast idea underlying and conditioning moral and civil progress, is education. Giving a general intelligence, and speaking through every press, appealing from every platform, thundering from every pulpit, will come a realization of the true philosophy of democracy. Before its onward course bossism and demagogy must disappear; the old institutions of wretchedness and crime will be battered down; the idols of ignorance and superstition trampled under foot.

Without a citizenship competent to master present conditions for the perpetuity of our government, vain the prayers of the Pilgrim Fathers; vain the heroism of Warren and Washington; vain the eloquence of Henry, Webster and Lincoln; vain the majestic music from the harps of Whittier, Longfellow, and Lowell; aye, all in vain has sainted mother toiled, and patriot father died.

With an intelligent and patriotic people democratic government has within itself the power of realization, the power of self-preservation. There can be no partisan fury, no storms of bigotry and fanaticism, no earthquakes of rebellion to shake it down. Secure this to the United States, and the social evils and problems which today are compromising manhood, blighting hope and blasting virtue will be blotted out. The marshalled forces of industry will disarm, and capital will emerge from behind its bulwarks of gold. That gigantic institution of damnation, the whiskey-saloon, will be closed forever, and our municipal affairs will pass from the control of political loafers and public thieves.

Democracy presupposes the intelligence and patriotism of all its members, and these are secured through the common school. In its march of six thousand years the race has encircled the globe, and entered this, its last promised land, containing every condition of national greatness and perpetuity. Every nation has



sent hither its representatives. Every nation has poured into this country the product of its heart and brain. These heterogeneous elements, are to be formed into a homogeneous people in the common school, by the common school teacher. Gather the children of the republic into the free public school, which knows no difference between the child of the foreign born and the native citizen; between the child of the rich and the poor; of the white and the black; of the Democrat and the Republican; of the Catholic and the Protestant. The common school is the impartial mother of all these; equally tender of all; equally just to all. Seated side by side on the same forms; studying the same lesson expressed in the same language; learning the same history of their common country; subject to the same discipline; engaged in the same sports; the sons and daughters of fathers and mothers representing every tongue and coming from every clime, acquire a character deeper and truer than that expressed in the dogma of any sect; a patriotism broader than the platform of any political party. Perfect the free American common school, and subject each generation to its beneficent influences, and there shall exist on this continent for all time to come the state of which Plato dreamed, which the prophets of old saw, and which Jesus said was of "The Kingdom of God."

Frank P. Sadler.

Frank P. Sadler, the youngest of a family of seven children, was born in Springfield, Ill., June 10, 1872. In 1874 his father moved to a large farm near Grove City, Ill., and was for a number of years one of the largest stock breeders and buyers in Central Illinois. His parents now reside at Taylorville, Illinois. Young Sadler's early education was obtained at the village school, which he attended until he was 18 years of age. During this time he gained quite a local reputation by winning for three consecutive years the competitive examination open to all the students of the county. By virtue of these victories he held the Presidency of the County Pupils Association for three years. In 1890 he entered the Northern Indiana Normal School at Valparaiso, where he began the study of Elocution under Prof. Martin Bogarte. Having determined to take a thorough college course, the next year he entered Knox College at Galesburg, Illinois, and

during his first year took part in the Freshman-Sophomore declamation contest. He continued the study of Elocution during the year and became well known in his classes, and in the debating societies as a forcible speaker.

Attracted by the prestige of Michigan University, in 1892 he entered the department of Literature, Science, and the Arts, as a member of the class of '96. From the first he showed great interest in the study of Oratory, and became an active member of the Oratorical Association and also of the Alpha Nu literary society.

His oration on "Mirabeau" which was first delivered in Prof. Trueblood's course in the "Study of Great Orators" produced so strong an impression that he was advised by his instructor to enter the Sophomore contest for the honor of representing that class in the final University contest. This honor he won, and was also awarded first honor in the annual University contest, and in May, 1894, won first place in the contest of the Northern Oratorical League.

In 1895 he entered the Inter-Society Debating contest, as a representative of the Alpha Nu Society, for the honor of being one of a trio to represent the University of Michigan in a debate with Northwestern University. In the final summary of the judges' grades it was found that Mr. Sadler led all others by several points, and although in the debate with Northwestern the decision was against the University of Michigan, he sustained himself with great credit.

In style he abounds in brief, clear sentences, with short and striking figures, if any. His manner is marked by great earnestness and directness; his voice though not heavy, is sympathetic and penetrating, his action energetic and full of meaning. In the most exciting debating contests he never loses his self-possession and is always skillful and courageous in rebuttal.

MIRABEAU.

By Frank Prather Sadler.

[First Honor Oration in 1894 at the University of Michigan and also in the Northern Oratorical League. In the former contest Mr. Sadler tied in rank in Thought and Composition with Mr. Chamberlain whose oration appears on page —. Mr. Sadler ranked second in Delivery. In the League contest he received first in Thought and Composition and second in Delivery.]

Great characters are epoch makers. As we study the history of progress, we see men rise up and shape the destiny of nations,—

men who enter the arena of life equipped by nature with those weapons which the conditions of the coming fray demand,—men who fitly typify the age in which they live, and embody the principles for which that age is famous. America gave birth to a Washington, who personified her great love of liberty, who expressed her undying loyalty to the principles of self-government, and linked his name forever with the birth of our republic. She gave us a Lincoln, who, because he breathed forth her love for humanity, equality, and unity, will stand as the central figure of the nineteenth century. So, when heralding the approach of her great revolution in which reason dethroned kingly power, and set on high the emancipated mind of man, France gave to the world her towering genius, her powerful orator, Mirabeau,— the typical Frenchman of that age of revolution.

I. Comte de Mirabeau was born at Bignon, on the 9th of March, 1749. He was so ugly in face and disfigured in form as to merit the nickname, "The Nephew of Satan." But sprung from a family distinguished for generations by a strong originality of character, Mirabeau inherited a physical and intellectual vigor farabove the average.

He was born in a home where domestic tranquility was unknown, where parents, blind to their highest interests, displayed the greatest hatred for each other in the son's presence. Especially was this injurious to a youth of his disposition, who, from injustice of every description, sought for reckless freedom through the avenues of pleasure. A tyrant father using harsh severity toward a strong-willed son, early caused a wound that never healed. The passion was augmented by stern authority; the strong will assailed by superior force, ripened into an ungovernable disposition. The time for reconciliation passed by, the ties of love were broken, and the open hostility of a father stifled every impulse for a righteous life. Restless and disorderly, the rash youth was sent to the army with the hope that military discipline might curb his violent temper. Evil companionships were formed. Ere long he was behind prison bars. Again and again he was thrust into the dungeon cell, and every time he came forth more lawless than before. Respect for self was gone, and throwing aside all restraint,—step by step, he trod the downward road of licentious pleasure, to find himself at last a fugitive from justice in a foreign land,—a man without a country and without friends.

II. The first climax in that dramatic life has been reached. We turn our eyes to his native land and behold a scene, the most

memorable in her history. It is the approaching conflict upon the same old battle-field where freedom's heroes have fought and died. The emancipated intellect and the sovereignty of the people are marshalling their hosts against the tyranny of despotism that has held them in its grasp for ages. The spirit of freedom which nerved the farmers at Lexington, and led the charge at Yorktown, was dawning on the minds of Frenchmen. "The human mind long soothed with opiates and nursed on cordials suddenly awoke from its stupor" and began to think for itself with such freedom and audacity that all Europe was amazed.

The low mutterings of the coming storm are borne to the ears of the outcast, Mirabeau. Ambition whispers of the tottering throne; Freedom murmurs of the evils done; Genius makes his vision clear; France is to be his field, revolution his life-work. A seat in that National Assembly upon which the eyes of the world were cast, was to be the stepping-stone from reproach, disgrace, dishonor, to that high pinnacle of power where kings must bow to the edict of his will.

Schooled in the injustice of oppression, thirsting for distinction, violent and impetuous, possessing great talents together with a logical acuteness in foreshadowing political movements, and endowed with a splendid gift of eloquence, he stepped into the arena fully equipped for the mortal fray. Startling were his words as he exhorted men to action. Burning were his appeals as he moved them to revolution. There was an awakening. "The flame kindled by the feudalism of the middle ages, fanned by the ruling sway of tyrants and made to glow as Bourbon rule sank lower and lower, burst out into that mighty conflagration" which made crowned heads tremble on their thrones.

The maddened senses of men with the ghastly specter of wrongs too long endured, rising up before them, were bearing them on to deeds of atrocious violence. Mirabeau sees in imagination the wild scenes that are to follow. Will he venture to face that mob and imperil all that life holds dear for the sake of bleeding France? Can human power stay that plunging current? Write his name high upon the scroll of honor, who dares risk his all and if need be die, that his country may live! The task was beyond human strength, but manfully, unflinchingly, Mirabeau stepped forward and used all the powers of his nature to check the violent passions which his words had done so much to arouse.

In vain his warning words to France that she had turned the helm from the safe port of liberty away toward the stormy sea, with the Scylla of popular anarchy upon one hand and the Charybdis of military despotism on the other. To no purpose did he implore to action that National Assembly, hesitating, and debating the rights of man and the theories of government, while the mob of Paris was howling for bread. His warning was prophetic, as the statesman rose above the politician, the patriot above selfish ambition, that the despotism of six hundred, styling themselves the National Assembly, was as much to be feared rs the despotism of a king.

But he was not destined to behold the fulfillment of his prophecy. While battling with all the fire of his genius, while swaying assemblies and passing measures by his matchless eloquence, while at the zenith of his popularity, Death laid hold upon him. Earthly desire and sensual pleasure had blasted his years. Patriotic devotion, earnest endeavor, and noble action, could not atone for the sins of former days. That towering oak, long swayed by the storms of passion, long rocked by the tempests of revolution, shivered and fell. Mirabeau was no more. His life closed dark and sad,—sad at leaving his great designs unaccomplished, sad as he beheld the gathering gloom that was hovering over his native land. Mysterious life! Calamitous death! King and peasant follow in that great procession in honor of the dead, and amid the sobs and groans of a disheartened people the "Sovereign Man" is laid to rest in the Pantheon of his Fatherland.

III. (a) What shall we write above that tomb,—success, or failure? Let history say. His peculiar position between throne and people gave to the political juggler and the jealous colleague opportunity to brand him as an intriguer with the King. But be it ever to the honor of Mirabeau, that the so-called selfish actions of an ambitious man, reflected by the light of history, are the patriotic motives of a statesman.

He understood as did no other Frenchman of his time, the true significance of a revolution; that revolution and reformation must go hand in hand; that the process of tearing down in government is successful only in so far as there follows the work of rebuilding; that revolution without reformation breeds anarchy,—anarchy, bloodshed and desolation.

The theory of government ever calls for the profoundest intellects of mankind. The relations of the rulers to the governed is

a problem that has many answers. It is one that calls for the consideration of many questions, but none more vital than the inherent nature of the governed. Mirabeau recognized this, and used his eloquence to persuade his fellow-countrymen to reconstruct the government on lines suited to the French nature. He knew full well that republics are not born in a day, and that the theories proposed by the National Assembly were not the natural outgrowth of a people ruled by kingly power. His knowledge of human nature revealed to him that the Frenchman must have a strong centralized government, and that if the principles of self-government were adopted, France would become the prey of ambitious leaders,—a Napoleon Bonaparte would lead France to her Waterloo.

His words, "I want a free, but a monarchial government," were hard to comprehend. But Bourbon rule followed by the Republic, Republic giving away to Directory; Directory followed hard upon by the Consulate; Consulate swept away by Empire, whose storm-tossed bark was to be rocked by revolution upon revolution and finally to seek but not find a reposeful haven in a Republic,—this history has made his words prophetic. "When I shall be no more, they will know what I was worth. All the calamities which I have arrested will break out upon France, and from all sides the criminal faction which trembles before me will have no rein." Do not these words re-echo through that mad revel of anarchy which murdered a defenseless King,—in the clash of deadly strife that culminated in The Reign of Terror, in which Girondist, Hebertist, Dantonist, and Jacobinist, walked the way of death in close procession, and which only ended when the head of Robespierre fell before the guillotine?

(b) I have been speaking of his political foresight, but those who like his principles least cannot but acknowledge the power of his eloquence. It was not the stature of an Apollo or the brow of a Job that held the "ravished hearer." He was ungainly in form and almost hideous in feature. Yet when he was moved by the thought of his nation's peril, these features were forgotten, and as the repulsive countenance lighted up with the inspiration of some lofty conception, and his great form, swayed by the passion of his will, responded to the vigor of his language, homeliness gave way to radiance,—

> "Confusion heard his voice
> And wild uproar stood ruled."

Nature revealed herself in her "Son of Earth." The intellect flashed, the throat thundered, and the shocked Assembly, mute and speechless, sat gazing at the play of nature's powers. His was not the studied eloquence of a Burke, but the sparks struck off by the heat of the moment. He did not strive at purity of diction, but aimed straight at the hearts of men. Freedom was his inspiration, patriotism his guide, sincerity his motive, reason, his ruling power. Kings feared him, assemblies voted at his will. Genius was his birthright, justice his living maxim, the French Revolution his monument.

Living in an age of hypocrisy, he stood forth as the champion of principles that will never die. With a vision too broad for party lines, he was grounded on the solid rock of equality and justice, where he bade defiance to the dazzling splendor of a court and the showy glitter of a nation's gold. Hold him not as the ideal man, for within was the low sensuous nature of the demon struggling for mastery over an intellect, divine in conception, resistless in reason, electrifying in power.

Morality will ever weep for the deeds of him who was a slave to passion but a master of kings. Eloquence will sing of him in her loftiest strain. Liberty will revere his memory as one who bore aloft her sacred banner and proudly planted it on the ramparts of tyranny. Genius will crown him as a seer whose vision alone could penetrate the dark night of revolution,—will crown him as her chosen son, whose anticipations have become realizations; whose counsels laws; whose words, maxims; whose theories, constitutions.

THE SPIRIT OF DEMOCRACY.

By Byron Lee Oliver.

Second Honor Oration, 1894, marked third in Thought and Composition, and first in Delivery.

There has been no time in history when the necessiity for government did not exist. There has been no period in human affairs when government was unknown, for the relation of man to man necessitates government. The form has been rude at times, and undeveloped, yet always in harmony with the nature of man and his stage of advancement. In the remotest ages of the past, we find social groups numbering countless thousands. From the very beginning the political institutions of these social bodies have been

undergoing an evolution. This development has been due to slow and delibrate human effort, which has worked in accordance with existing circumstances, and within the limitations of human character. The progress of these bodies politic, being dependent upon human choice, has been fitful, and has varied according to the surroundings of the races which developed them. Yet when viewed in the light of the world's eventful progress, though disturbed by wars, affected by climate and shaped by the wide play of human thought, they have advanced in a remarkably orderly manner.

From the dawn of history, when men were formed into barbarous tribes subject to despotic rule, until this modern age of civilization when great nations stand forth free and self-governed, the law of our fathers, "In union there is strength," has suffered no serious breach. Governments are the living exponents of their social conditions; they are called into existence by an expression of the general will of the community, maintained by its consent and employed for its benefit. They are not spontaneous growths; they are created by conflicting ideas of social forces. Such institutions are the product of human effort, directed in the line of common welfare. They are not founded upon the theories of philosophers and lawgivers, though they owe much to the statesmen of different ages who propounded broad principles of civil government, and labored to enfranchise nations.

In primitive ages society, weak and irresolute, incapable of exerting a weighty influence in politics, submits to the arbitrary sway of despotic rule. But as society advances, it increases in power and influence, and governments are forced to change their forms in compliance with the thoughts and feelings of their subjects. Throughout the entire course of history there can be traced this connection between the progress of political institutions and the advancement of society. This growth of governmental systems, as a consequence of social, moral and intellectual development, must be accepted as a natural law.

Ours is a life of progression. Society is ever advancing and working out the destiny of nations. There are times when it seems to check its onward course, even to retrace its steps but in years succeeding it sweeps onward with re-invigorated speed. We calculate its progress not by years and decades, but by cycles and centuries. We measure its course not by individual action and exceptional occurrence, but by the aggregate compilation of history.

Men in all civilized lands, impelled by the same feeling of humanity, influenced by a common welfare, bound by a common sympathy of trial and danger, directed by a divine counsel, are gaining independence, extending the domain of private rights, harmonizing law and liberty, dictating the policies of governments, and advancing toward the practically perfect state. Ever since society emerged from the darkness of primitive ages, ever since it began to improve and the popular mind mind to stir, democratic opinion has advanced, and democratic institutions have been growing in favor. The more society advances, the more strength the principle of democracy gains. Since the rise of popular education in the last century, and its vast development in this, the advance of democratic opinion, and the spread of democratic institutions have been marked and significant.

A few generations ago the ruler was supposed to receive his authority from God; now, he receives it from the people. Then, the people served the ruler; now, the ruler is the servant of the people. Then, the sovereignty rested in the ruler; now, it rests in the people. The so-called "Divine Right of Kings" has been relegated to the past. Now nearly every nation in the civilized world recognizes the theory that governments arise out of the people, that all rulers hold their power by delegation from the people. Almost all pure forms of monarchy have been destroyed by introducing into them the imperative forces of popular thought, and the concrete institutions of representative legislation. In aristocratic and monarchical government the habit and spirit of deference is dying out. The superiority of the upper classes is no longer so great; the willingness of others to recognize that superiority is no longer so ready. The crumbling foundations of such governmental structures are being swept away by the ever swelling tide of public opinion. Throughout the enlightened world society, no longer enthralled by ignorance and superstition, is growing more capable of governing itself, a change which has been brought about by the natural and inevitable advance of man. This is an age of free and outspoken constitutional criticism. Never before was mankind in such a position to inquire into the advance of nations and consider the increasing happiness of man. No political question of the present day excites more profound interest than the advance of the theory of self-government. It affects the welfare of society and the destiny of nations.

History is replete with the rise and fall of mighty states. Republics, monarchies and aristocracies, around each of which were centered the fond hopes and aspirations of its people, have arisen, shone in glorious splendor, and passed forever below the horizon. Like the historic ephemeral flower that grew within their borders, the ancient republics live only in history and serve only that time may point out the defects of their system, the flaws of their fabric. At their best they were but broad aristocracies, with limited suffrage, with slaves and even freemen who could never obtain a voice in their own government. With them the state was the unit; the individual was an insignificant fraction. No individual rights were recognized; all were absorbed in the state. Government was founded upon an illogical distinction of caste, wherein wealth, honor and freedom were the heritages of the aristocratic few. Gaze for a moment at the pitiful ruins of Rome; mistress of the ancient world, yet a state wherein the citizen was absorbed and lost to sight; a state whose subjects were divided into classes devoid of individuality; a state wherein labor was dishonored; a state with no finance, no industry, but, like a vulture, subsisting upon the spoils of other nations; is it any wonder that these so-called republics are but monuments to the fraility of human law, the imperfections of human government? They are but mute witnesses of experiments in government, and serve to show that ancient man was as much of an experimentist as modern man.

Man is by nature speculative. While it is true, in a measure, that the conservative element is prone to suffer injuries and inconveniences rather than change the forms to which they are accustomed, still to be dissatisfied and to be continually desirous of a change seems to be born in human nature. Man is constantly living in dreams of what is to come, in ideals of what ought to be. Were this principle otherwise, humanity would still be groveling in the darkness of barbarism. But it is owing to this spirit of progress, these dreams of ideals, that we are enabled to live in the exhilarating atmosphere of civilization. The modern theory of democracy found its birth in the mind of the philosopher, in the dream of the oppressed. Since the overthrow of the ancient idea of state, society is no longer submissive; it has become progressive, directive. It has advanced from the centralization of the ancient state to the free, self-governed commonwealth of to-day. The once universal assumption that no republic could control vast

populations and extensive domain, that no strictly republican government could be stable has been refuted. The modern conception of politics,—the federal union, the separation of the executive, legislative and judicial functions of government, and that great motive power of enlightened government, the legislative assembly--have settled forever the problem of nations, self-constituted and self-controlled.

This modern democracy is a theory of human rights and social power far transcending anything that other ages ever knew. It has sprung up with the advance of society. It grows with the growth of knowledge. It strengthens with the strength of reason. It is beautified and embellished by everything that makes life happier, nobler and better. Its power and influence is advanced by every advance of man. Under it man feels that, beginning with his soul, everything should be free. When visited by its spirit, he is actuated by a nobler resolve; he kindles with a loftier aspiration; he acts with deeds more heroic; he speaks with an eloquence more triumphant, more sublime.

Democracy is founded, not upon traditions of remote ages, not upon usurpations, not upon conquests, but upon things older and firmer than these, the equality and brotherhood of man. In its institutions, in the privileges they confer, and in the responsibilities they repose, in the betterment of human welfare and the brightening of human hopes, we discern the logic of conditions which have been maturing for centuries. The star of democracy first appeared upon the horizon of the Western Hemisphere, but so dense was the fog of conservatism and doubt, that those living in eastern climes failed to receive its light or behold its glories. Now it has arisen above the mists, and its glories are reflected from English shores. It has tinted the sunny fields of Spain. It has shed its benign rays upon the landscape of France. Piercing to the south, its rays of light have penetrated the monarchial gloom and slavish ignorance of southern countries, and Brazil, Chili, and Mexico have thrown aside the cloak of royalty, and now worship at the shrine of democracy.

If the visions of hopeful seers are ever to be realized, if the ancient and mysterious lands of the orient which yet linger in the gloom of ignorance and superstition are to rise from the darkness of primitive ages, if their crystalized forms of civilization are to be destroyed, nations regenerated, and men disenslaved, to rejoice in the kindly spirit of free and enlightened government, it is only

with the advance of Christianity and the progress of democratic opinion. And when the genius of history reviews the volume of the great past, she will fondly linger over the pages devoted to the triumphs of democracy, then seized with inspiration, she will part the curtain that hides the future and gaze far into the depths of the ages yet to come; far down the corridors of time, she will see the unborn millions of posterity who are to profit by our mistakes, and succeed by our successes; then with a wise and patriotic foresight she will inscribe in letters of living light for the ages of the future, that grand policy of human rights, with its institutions of equality and freedom, as broad as humanity, as eternal as truth.

THE LIBERALIZING INFLUENCES OF THE PARLIAMENT OF RELIGIONS.

BY FRANK EDGAR CHAMBERLAIN.

[In Thought and Composition this oration tied in rank with Mr. Sadler's. In Delivery, Mr. Chamberlain stood sixth.]

Four hundred years ago, religious propagandism supplied one of the motives of Columbus's great project. Queen Isabella was inspired with the hope that she might procure the means of prosecuting another crusade. Columbus promised to lay at her feet the riches of India. He proposed to open a new gateway of commerce with the East which should enrich the houses of Aragon and Castile. Then would they be enabled to wage a successful war against the Moslem, and wrest from infidel hands the Holy Sepulcher.

This throws a ray of light upon the religious ideas of the fifteenth century. The Parliament of Religions at Chicago was another and happier concentration of light flashed upon the occurrences of the Nineteeth Century, to reveal the spirit of these times. Today, instead of trying to gain possession of an empty tomb, the call is for broad-minded liberal men to meet togther in harmony and fraternal kindness, and consider questions for the uplifting of humanity. The demand is for men who will reason together concerning the eternal truths of God, of divine Fatherhood, and human brotherhood. For, even in this age of material wonders, there is a spiritual root to all human progress; and the same sun which shone on Judea's Hill has shed its celestial light

on the dwellers in the Arabian deserts, by the Ganges and the Nile, and where the long wash of the wave kisses the shores of the Flowery Kingdom.

This Parliament of Religions has taught many men to cherish kind thoughts of all peoples, and humane views of all creeds. It has taught that he who would do most good in his own faith must seek for and acknowlege the truth in other faiths. Bigotry and fanaticism have filled the earth with violence, drenched it with human blood and obstructed civilization. We boast of the high state of modern society, and justly; but who dares affirm that it is not far beneath what it might be had not intolerance engendered strife and dissolution? But a better time has come, and this grand meeting of the religious faiths of the earth has heralded a brighter day, whose bells, ringing in peace and love and harmony, shall also sound the death knell of fanaticism, bigotry and persecution.

Grand and noble thoughts inspired the early martyrs to face punishment and death, but grander and nobler thoughts impel now the minds of religious reformers to convert the world to universal charity, and to build upon the ashes of intolerance the temple of love and concord. Within this temple, we may all stand upon the platform of mutual good will, and take by the hand our brother of whatever creed. All petty barriers of sectarian pride will thus be removed, and men will together press forward to the goal of God's eternal truth.

All religions and philosophies have fundamentally more or less truth which lives forever, and superficially more or less error which inevitably perishes. India, the cradle of nations, and the mother of religions, with her ancient civilization and profound philosophy — what is she? Wave after wave of adversity has rolled over her; her glory and greatness are gone; and a stranger and alien sits on her imperial throne. But that spark of unquenchable fire, born of eternal truth, has been fanned into new flame by the influence of modern civilization. It has revived the highest aspirations of her intellectual and spiritual nature, and like the fabled bird of old she is rising from her ashes. Egypt with her magnificent palaces, her beautiful obelisks, her massive pyramids, and her mysterious sphinx—where is she? Gone like a dream of the night. But her ruins have given up to the student of today information necessary for the correct understanding of much that enters into our modern thought and life. Ancient

Greece lavishes her splendid genius in building up a civilization that has passed away like the morning mist. But her art, her poetry, and her philosophy, have been left as a rich legacy to all succeeding generations. Mighty and majestic Rome, where are her noble monuments, her populous cities, her invincible legions? They have disappeared to be known no more forever. But the influence of her laws and institutions pervades all Christendom. Israel, God's chosen people, with her grand laws and glorious history, with her inspired prophets and sublime bards—where is she? A wanderer upon the face of the earth! Persecuted, banished, driven hither and thither. But the inspirations and high ideals of her sacred writings are the bed-rock of our Christian civilization. Thus has the past contributed to the present. Thus do all the golden grains of truth make for that righteousness whose end is universal peace and brotherhood.

Go back to the dawn of history and you find man divided into two classes; one to serve, the other to rule. Trace him to classic Greece, the scene of the highest of ancient civilizations, and you find him subject to the same false idea. The foreigner was not the equal of the Greek, but fit only to be enslaved and to do the work of the beast for the ruling race. Follow him on down the ages to within the memory of living man; the same Chinese wall of distrust and hatred has kept the races and religions apart. Prejudice is as old as man. Men of different races faced each other only for purposes of attack. Constant warfare prevented intercourse between the different peoples. The precepts of the Golden Rule are found in the writings of many great teachers of old, but they never inspired love outside of the tribe or nation. It was only when the philosopher and the ruler, the priest and the sage, found their power broken and their pride humbled to the dust, that man, amid the ruins of fallen empires, turned toward his brother for that sympathy and fellowship which have been steadily increasing till they culminated in the highest intellectual and moral achievement of the nineteenth century, the Columbian Exposition, and the World's Parliament of Religions; till they reached a point where high above the dreary mists of prejudice and discord shines the light of fraternity and peace between all the leading nations and religions of mankind.

What event in the religious development of the world has been so significant as this Parliament? What time in all the splendid development of spiritual forces ever witnessed a gathering so cos-

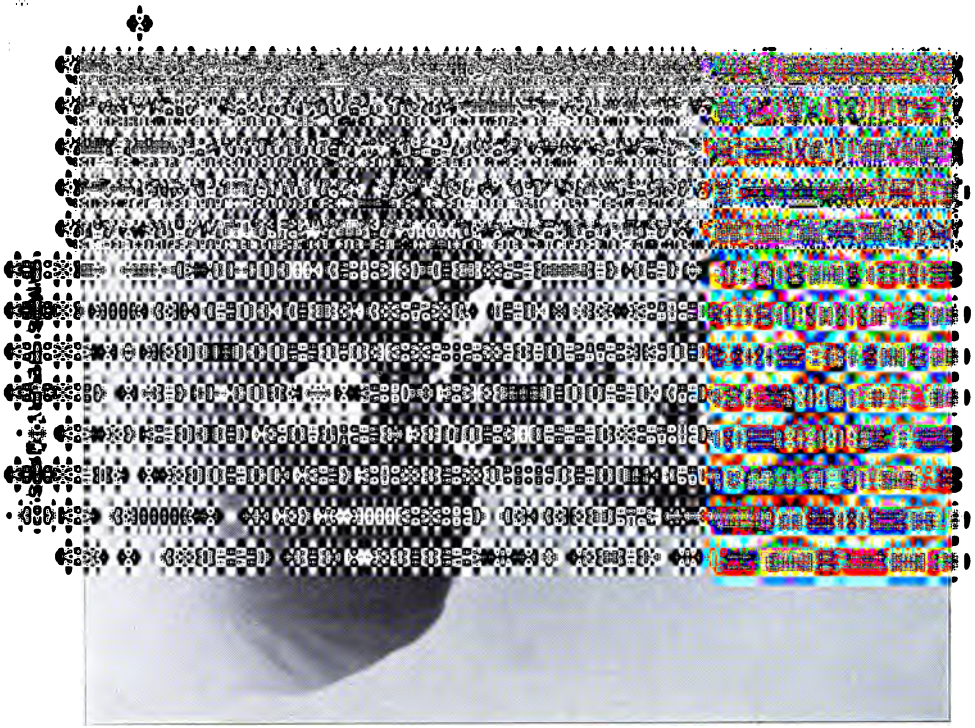
mopolitan? It is true there have been national and even international meetings of certain Christian sects, but their delegates represented only slight differences of opinion in one part of the religious world, while even large numbers of fellow-Christians were excluded. It has been left to the grander spirit of the present day to ignore all lines that separate sect from sect and religion from religion, to open wide the white portals of the spiritual kingdom and, in the name of God and humanity, welcome every sincere seeker after truth, whether "Christian or Confucian, Methodist or Moslem, Baptist or Brahmin, Presbyterian or Parsee."

The great meetings of the nations in connection with the world's fairs at Paris, Philadelphia, and London were devoid of any such features as a Parliament of Religions. Men sought to have the world's material interests as fully represented as possible, but no one dared to suggest any such bold plan as a gathering of representatives of the world's thought, much less of the world's religious faiths. Such a consummation was reached only in our own land and in our own decade, through the growing spirit of progress which is leading men steadily on to broader thought and higher ideals.

This Parliament was the natural outgrowth of the spirit which has ever prompted man to come into closer touch with the object of his veneration. The religious intent of humanity has ever been to establish closer and more helpful relations between itself and God. But at last men are beginning to see that in truly drawing nearer to God they must needs also draw nearer to each other. Worship would not divide; it would unite. True, the adherents of different faiths call God by different names; but by these different names do they not all mean the same Infinite Power and Wisdom? Why, then, should they not worship together and be brothers? Thus a growing number of men are recognizing an essential relation between the different faiths of the world. It was out of this growing recognition that the Parliament of Religions was born. But will the spirit which created the Parliament stop with that remarkable gathering? On the contrary, everything shows that the Parliament has given it such an impetus as nothing before has ever done. The thousands from all parts of the earth who attended the World's Congress of Religions will hereafter exert in their own lands an influence in breaking the chains of religious despotism, which binds their fellows and retards their ascent of the heights of religious freedom and toleration.

A deepening and broadening effect, not alone on Christianity, but on the entire religious world will be the outcome of this grandest of all Parliaments. Its influence will be both permanent and cumulative. A seed has been planted that will bear fruit a hundred fold as the years and centuries go on. A great and noble ideal like this of the brotherhood of the world's religions once lifted up clearly in the eyes of mankind can never be lost. It is a beacon light for the ages to come. More and more, as the result of this Parliament, will men try to live in concord with all honest seekers after truth, of whatever race or religion. As the result of it more and more clearly and boldly will they inscribe on their banners, "Practice not Theory, Deed not Creed, Love not Hate, Compassion not Revenge, Brotherhood not Strife."

This Congress was the greatest of the world's ecumenical councils, for it was really world wide, as no preceding council ever was. And it not only asked for spiritual liberty, but was itself a most striking manifestation of that liberty. It was the grandest theological seminary ever instituted, for it taught universal toleration. From it men shall learn that religions are not separated by impassable barriers, but by clouds of misunderstanding which dissolve and fade away before the morning sun of truth and love. From it has issued an army bearing upon its banners symbols not only of religion but of humanity and peace. From its lofty platform have been promulgated truths which shall be taught again from ten thousand other platforms, in many lands; truths which shall grow and spread till they reach the uttermost parts of the earth. Well nigh two thousand years have passed since the angels' song on Bethlehem's plain proclaimed "Peace on earth, good will toward men." As we look back over the past and see the bitter wars and strifes, many of the fiercest of them kindled by religion itself, that have filled the world with tears, and hate, and blood, we say alas! How slow has been this splendid prophecy in reaching a fulfillment! But who that understands the mighty significance of this Parliament will dare to question that in it we see at last the dawn of a more peaceful day for religion on the earth? Here in this most remarkable and prophetic gathering in the religious history of our race has been set flowing a stream of toleration, charity, and good will which shall refresh and gladden the noblest souls of all lands. May we not believe that it is a stream which shall flow on down the ages, an ever broadening and deepening river, until it shall at last mingle with the dark waters of the world's



religious prejudice, hate, and strife, and calm them into peace forever?

James H. Mays.

The subject of this sketch was born June 29, 1868, in the mountains of East Tennessee. He attended school in winter at the old log school house of the neighborhood, and spent his summers on the farm where he says he served his time in "hoeing corn, cutting sprouts, and pulling fodder." While he was yet a boy the family removed to Galena, Kans., near the boundary line of Missouri. Much of his youth and early manhood was spent at work in the timber, and in the zinc and lead mines of that region. He had little or no opportunity to attend school during these years, but he spent his evenings in careful reading, and once a week took part in a neighborhood debating society.

In the spring of 1890 he entered the State Normal School at Emporia, Kans., where he spent nearly three years. He was twice elected president of his class, and once as delegate to the State Oratorical Association. During his whole course he took an active part in one of the literary societies, was twice elected to represent his society in an annual debating contest, an event of the greatest interest and importance to the students there. In the first contest he received second place, but in the last he was graded highest among the debaters.

After leaving the Normal he spent one winter in teaching a country school near Emporia. The following spring he went into the employ of the New York Life Insurance Company and traveled extensively over Kansas and Nebraska, his chief purpose being to raise money to send him through college. His summer's work was so successful that in October, 1893, he was able to enter the law department of the University of Michigan, where by continuing his work in insurance during vacations and at odd times he has been able to maintain himself with his class, with which he expects to graduate in June, 1895. In the summer of '94, on account of his marked success in the interests of his insurance company, he won the right to represent the State of Michigan in the New York and Boston conventions of life insurance men, which included all expenses on a trip via Niagara to the principal Eastern cities.

In the Inter-Society Debate of 1894, held for the purpose of selecting three men to represent the University of Michigan in the

first contest with Northwestern University, Mr. Mays was easily accorded first place, and, though the final contest was lost to Northwestern by the narrow margin of four points, he received the highest grades both in argument and delivery.

His great success in debate led his classmates to prevail on him to enter the Annual Oratorical contest of 1895. He not only led in his class contest, but also in the final University contest, and was the first to receive the new Chicago Alumni Medal. He thus became the accredited representative of the University in the contest of the Northern Oratorical League, held at Iowa City, May 3, where he also received the highest honor.

Nature has endowed Mr. Mays with unusual gifts as a public speaker, but he has been untiring in his efforts to develop those powers during his entire college course. His manner before an audience is highly prepossessing. He has an easy command of a noble physique; a voice of great range, of wonderful power and sweetness. His enunciation is clear, his action free and full of force. There is nothing of the spread-eagle about him; he is simple, modest, earnest, and whether in the heat of debate or in a set oration his utterance impresses one as the direct outflow of his own consciousness.

INTERNATIONALISM.

By James Henry Mays.

[First Honor Oration 1895, marked second in Thought and Composition and first in Delivery; in the League contest, first in Thought and Composition and first in Delivery.]

The nation is composed of individuals, as the mass is composed of atoms. In the beautiful discovery of Newton, we learn that the same law which governs the smallest atom governs also the largest mass, even to the universe of planets and suns. Individuals bound in fellowship by one great rule of right, consent to have the fierceness of their nature restrained for the common welfare. They are constrained to live with common purposes, strive for common advancement, rejoice in common blessings, suffer common disasters; in common they glory in mutual happiness, and in the victories of peace, "no less renowned than war." So nations, after squandering their resources upon the art of destruction, after ages of dreadful warfare, are likewise coming to realize the awful folly of continual discord. They, too, are beginning to appre-

ciate the significance of moral laws; to beware lest they disregard the divine command, "Love thy neighbor as thyself;" to observe the same great rule of right that binds individuals in fellowship.

This growing spirit of mutual helpfulness we call Internationalism. What is the origin, the development, the mission of this bond of fellowship among the nations?

I. With our savage forefathers, the family was the nation. Apart from actual kinship, there was no brotherhood. Every man outside this petty circle was an enemy to be slain as the wild beast of the jungles. Beginning to realize the strength of united action, families formed into tribes under chiefs to wage more relentless warfare upon all other tribes. As the rays of civilization penetrated deeper into the gloom, these tribes, stirred by the same restless energy, united into larger communities, and settled upon fixed habitations. Land, instead of kinship, became the basis of society, and was occupied by petty lordships and communities, separate and distinct. At first, they professed no common interest, cultivated no friendly relations, recognized no rights claimed by members of other communities, and treated all men outside the narrow limits of their province as enemies. Each held it to be the great aim of life to carry on successful warfare, and zealously maintained, as do nations now, the right to make war on every other community. Their association was for mutual destruction. Every principality was intolerant, bigoted, selfish. Within their own border lines, the people were enjoined to recognize the brotherhood of man; outside these limits, they were licensed and encouraged to pilfer and murder without restraint. Within their borders, they lived in harmony; outside, they roamed the seas as pirates, ravaged the land as bandits, annihilated villages, gave no quarter, sparing not even women or children. It was one continuous story of dreadful warfare from the time

> "When man walked with beast,
> Joint tenant of the shade."

Gradually it dawned upon the minds of men that there was nothing in political lines to make them foes; they began to realize that they were men, who had much in common. They said one to another, "we will further unite for common defense and mutual advancement." Just as the smaller bodies by degrees had been drawn into fellowship, these larger bodies were fused into nations.

Primitive Rome was formed by the union of small communities. The countless principalities of Great Britain were gradually merged into seven kingdoms, and then united into one *great* kingdom under Egbert, the Saxon. In France we see Roman, Iberian, Teuton, and Celt, once stirred by angry passions, now blended into a powerful republic. Spain, a composite of numerous races of different religion and government, became a nation in the fifteenth century by the union of Castile and Aragon. Germany, once consisting of more than three hundred distinct principalities, each in bloody strife with the others, now presents a might empire, united at home and respected abroad. And on this side the seas, many great states, indifferent to the common weal, disposed to be independent sovereignties, united their interests, and today present a typical example of what brotherly spirit may do for the nations of the world. Thus, with the gradual association of tribes and communities, great nations were formed, each invoking the blessings of united, friendly action upon its numerous principalities. The torch of the incendiary was extinguished, the license of the robber revoked, the red hand of the asssassin arrested, the mad fury of the mob restrained, and the once hostile factions were welded into great nations.

II. Such was the result of fellowship of communities. Consider the development of this spirit among nations. Internally, each rejoiced in the mutual friendship of its numerous provinces; but, strange to say, toward its neighbors, assumed a hostile front. This attitude of the nations caused Burke to declare that friendly international relations would afford a pleasing theme for the historian, but "alas! such history would not fill ten pages." These cordial relations between states of the modern world had their beginning in the Peace of Westphalia, which was confirmed by the principal nations of Europe. Permanent legations were then first securely established. Since then, says Emerson, "all history is the decline of war." Since then, says Sir Henry Maine, "a moral brotherhood in the whole human race has been steadily gaining ground." Twenty years ago, Gladstone declared that there had been reserved for England a great and honorable destiny in promoting internationalism. Since these words were spoken, thirty-eight powerful nations have united their moral forces, by the treaty of Geneva, as a safeguard against the excesses, miseries, and ferocities of war. They have bound themselves to use every means to relieve the suffering of sick and wounded soldiers; to dis-

courage war, as the best means of attaining that end; to encourage international good will; to mitigate international calamities in time of peace; and to place international concord on a more enduring basis.

This spirit of mutual fellowship is fast pervading all human society. From the family circle to the tribal community, from the village clan to the broader province, from jealous statehood to national commonwealth, the great rule of right is becoming broad enough and strong enough to embrace all mankind in the general harmony. In recognition of this unity of interest the Pan-American congress assembled at Washington with the highest motives that ever actuated international movements. Representatives of half the civilized world met, not to arouse bitter prejudices, but for better mutual understanding; not to obtain unfair advantages, but to promote the general welfare; not to cultivate the art and terrible amusement of war, but to form closer commercial relations; not to witness the parade of military forces, but to obviate all necessity for the maintenance of navies and great standing armies, such as are now crushing out the life of Europe. Let those who would sneer at the growing spirit of internationalism, remember that never before did there convene a congress of nations with the common purpose of agreeing, not upon military plans, not to incite their people to tumult and carnage, not to foster cruelty and superstition, not to do homage to the God of Battles, but to adopt the motto of peace and fellowship, and thus secure enduring prosperity in the western world.

III. Brief as has been the history of these great movements, certain principles and methods have been clearly defind. What, then, is the mission of internationalism? Though slow in development, its spirit has long been appealing to the better nature of the individual man, and is now beginning to pervade the councils of nations. What is there in boundary lines to convert a brother-man into a deadly foe? Ought the conduct of nation toward nation to be less humane than that of man toward man? Shall nations still retain barbarous methods of determining justice, while judicial tribunals by exercise of reason adjudicate the rights of individuals? Shall we execute a man for committing a single murder, and glorify a nation for slaughtering its thousands? Is that voice of thunder, "Thou shalt not kill," prolonged and re-echoed throughout the earth by Christian churches, to have an awful meaning to individuals, and signify nothing to nations? By what

reasoning can the crime of the individual become the glory of the nation? Must man put forth every energy against pestilence and famine, while nations upon the slightest pretext "let slip the dogs of war?" Must he revere and cherish his religion, and yet allow the state to profane it? Must he continue to extol virtue to the skies, and yet permit nations to dethrone it? Must he strive for knowledge, while nations misapply and pervert it? Oh why must man continue to toil, and permit the product of his hand and brain to be squandered upon the means of destruction? If it has proved well for individuals, families, tribes, communities, and provinces to strive peaceably together, should not the larger masses of men profit by such example? It is the mission of internationalism to answer these questions, and to say to governments, into whose hands the welfare of mankind is placed,—

> "Therefore take heed
> How you awake the sleeping sword of war;
> In the name of God, take heed."

Man may yet be blinded by prejudice, nations may yet be lacerated by war, but of this we may be assured: that in the distresses which mankind must suffer, ignorance will never again be so potent a factor, for men are now heirs to the wisdom of the ages; difference in religion will never again so arouse the spirit of intolerance, for man must be left unfettered to obey the dictates of his conscience; difference in race and language will never again be so strong a barrier to friendly intercourse, for all nations are coming to recognize the brotherhood of man; distance will never again render international interests so vague and remote, for the messengers of intelligence and of commerce, like shuttles, are rushing to and fro over the earth, "weaving the nations into one." Stupendous political movements, which in times past, would have brought havoc and carnage, must in future be conducted through quiet deliberations. Questions, which a few years ago would have been sure heralds of war, must be determined before a supreme court of the nations. Already it is the law of nations to do in time of peace the most good and in time of war the least evil. Arbitration is the rule; and when war does occur, it is divested of its most atrocious cruelties. Nations begin to realize that disaster needs no aid or encouragement from the government; that humanity will suffer enough at best; that governments are the servants of men, and not their masters; that they are institutions for man's benefit, and not for his torture, that they are builders and not destroyers;

that they are means to an end, and that end the advancement of civilization.

This, then, is the mission of internationalism:—that the nations instead of imitating the fierceness of the tiger, shall render good offices one unto another; instead of rejoicing in the "pomp and circumstance of glorious war," shall tender support in public distress; instead of invading, bombarding, and pillaging their neighbors, shall afford relief in general calamities; and that instead of the clank of arms and the canon's roar, instead of the crash and jar of artillery, the tramp of the war horse, the glare of hungry flames, the pitiless scenes of death, decay, and famine, we may behold the nations of the earth, of every religion, language, and race, firmly bound by the threads of commerce and the stronger ties of brotherly feeling; behold them flourishing together in the arts of peace, striving with common impulses, combined in common enterprises, and tendering mutual returns of kindness and civility.

THE CLASSES OR THE COMMONERS.

FRED LEWIS INGRAHAM.

[SECOND HONOR ORATION, 1895, marked third in Thought and Composition and second in Delivery.]

When the traveller views the ocean for the first time his attention is attracted by the mighty waves. In regular succession they roll their huge bulk landward, each striving to the utmost to exalt itself above the level of its fellows. Their awful energy knows no control. "This," the traveller exclaims, "is the great sea." But presently he looks out upon the wider view before him. He beholds that majestic waste of waters, stretching away, fathomless, boundless, changeless, eternal. Calms come, and the waves disappear, but the sea endures forever. Primeval man, fresh from the hand of the Infinite, looked out in superstitious awe upon that selfsame ocean. "Now," the traveller exclaims, "I behold the sea; not before have I comprehended its greatness." So, when the historian first turns to the annals of his race, he sees there nothing but the deeds of those who, like the waves, are exalted above the common level; they found religions and kingdoms, they produce revolutions, they work reformations. This, for centuries, has been the verdict of history. But on deeper study historians are beginning to realize that, back of kings, generals, and prophets

are the people, the common people. It is there that historical cause and effect have their seat, the march of events its origin, the development of institutions its growth. The sea is greater, grander than its waves; the masses greater than the classes.

The history of a nation is chiefly determined by the characteristics of the masses of its people, characteristics which statesmen can neither destroy nor create. The spirituality of the Jew and the ideality of the Greek gleamed forth irrespective of the aid or opposition of leaders. The Englishman's love of personal liberty, inherited from the barbaric Saxon, rose superior to Norman, Tudor, and Stuart, and is still the safeguard of freedom in every English-speaking nation. Leaders lead; the people follow. But at any time there are many would-be leaders; each with a plan; and it is in choosing which plan to follow that the people exercise their supremacy. The leader is the means by which the people carry out the work they desire to accomplish.

Yet, there has always been a tendency for those elevated above the common level to combine into associations whose dominating principal is that the members shall consider themselves superior to the common people and treat them with contempt. The tendency in America toward such aristocratic combinations is becoming more and more evident. When villages first appeared on the prairies and among the forests of the West social relations were simple. No one because of broader acres considered himself superior to his fellows. Fear of the glance of scorn kept no man from greeting any other. High and low gathered for the worship of the Common Father in the same church. But now society is dividing into classes. We have Fifth avenue and the Bowery; the brown stone front and the tenement. In the East the aristocrats are withdrawing their children to private academies, leaving the public schools to the commoners. More than three-fifths of those who enter Yale and Harvard are prepared in private schools or by private tutors. Christians, professing to follow the Master whose message was the brotherhood of man, cannot now worship at the same altar. One class meets at Trinity Church, the other at Five Points Mission. This exclusive spirit is fast leavening all society. The butcher's wife scorns the servant girl, and is in turn looked down upon by the banker's wife, who sighs in vain to become one of the exclusive four hundred.

Men are, and must ever be, as unequal in intellect and ability as they are in stature. But no man was ever so great as to entitle

him to hold even the lowliest in contempt. Just and equal treatment is the right of every man, because of his humanity. In this right all men are equal. Little souls may shut themselves within a crust of exclusiveness, but great souls burst such selfish bounds and go out in sympathy to all mankind. Lafayette, a scion of the French nobility, crosses the ocean to risk his life for the liberties of democratic America. Jefferson, reared amid the proud surroundings of an ancient Virginian family, pens that immortal sentence, "All men are created equal." Wendell Phillips, a member of an aristocratic family of Boston, braves social ostracism and public scorn to plead freedom for the negro. Charles Sumner, heir to all that position and culture can give, scorning the threats of violent opponents, hurls the shafts of his brilliant eloquence full into the heart of brutal slavery. His great genius knows no rest until he has lifted the black man to a place by his side, his equal in law, a free citizen, a sovereign voter. The lives of these men reiterate in thunder tones "All men *are* equal."

Fame's greatest heroes are men who sprang from the common people. Their lives were lived for the people. The people's will was their will. Witness Moses, now the foundling in the rushes, now leading Israel from bondage; Luther, now singing in the streets for alms, now forging the thunderbolts of the Reformation; Washington, now the frontier surveyor, now rejecting a crown, but crowned a thousand times with the love of generations whom he blessed with a free government. But there is one whose story is even more striking. Born in poverty and wretchedness, he fought his way without family, without influence, without education to a fame that will never die. Sacred to principle, devoted to humanity, his life was like a benediction. As long as conscience moulds the lives of men, as long as love touches their hearts, so long will the world revere the name of the statesman, the liberator, the martyred hero, Abraham Lincoln. Like the greatest governments, the greatest men are "of the people, by the people, and for the people."

Our national government, every republican government, rests upon absolute faith in the wisdom and virtue of the majority, and the majority must always be the common people. Lincoln once said, "God must love the common people or he wouldn't have made so many of them." And it is true that Christianity, too, has rested from the first, and must always rest, upon the heart and conscience of the masses. Jesus of Galilee, the carpenter born in a manger, did not address his sublime teachings to the aristocrats.

He knew that from them he would receive only scorn. But he prepared a feast of complete forgiveness to others, of perfect purity of heart; a feast of charity and brotherhood in man, of fatherhood and charity in God; then he invited those who plowed and sowed, who tended flocks, or fished the sea, the fallen woman, the begger at the gate, to come and partake of that feast. That invitation was the greatest tribute ever paid to human nature. Only a humanity possessed of a divine nature could, of its own free will, accept a religion of divine forgiveness and duty,—a divine nature tempted and fallen, it may be, but divine still. He knew the people's heart; he invited, and the invitation was accepted. Yet we Americans, reared in the full light of Christianity and under the protection of the noblest republic of all history, are denying the fundamental principle of both, the principle of equality.

In the days of '61, when the news that Fort Sumter had been fired upon rang on the ears of the startled North, all realized that the Union was in danger. Thousands sprang to arms. They came from the forge, the work-bench, the counter, the plow,—an army of commoners. The nation placed in their hands the freedom of a race, the destinies of our Union, the successes of republican government. The world watched in breathless suspense to see how these humble men would keep that awful trust. Up hillsides bathed in the blood of comrades they charged, to the very muzzles of roaring musketry and belching cannon, and planted the banner of equality on the ramparts of slavery. A hundred battle fields wreathed in glory; prison pens hallowed with a patriotism almost godlike; vast cemeteries where the brave sleep side by side, rank after rank,—the silent legions of the dead,—all tell more forcibly than any words what these men were ready to sacrifice rather than betray that trust. Greece, with her Marathon and Thermopylae, had no truer heroes than these; yet they were our commoners.

If, in the olden times of war and conquest, a nation's glory lay in its common people, much more is it true in this age, when a nation's supremacy is founded upon the ability of its laborers in argriculture, commerce, or manufactures. The Columbian Exposition at Chicago was a revelation. Memory loves to return to that beautiful spot on the shore of Lake Michigan. The eye wanders down a grand canal whose waters ripple in the clear sunlight. Long lines of pillars, massive facades, towering domes rise on either side; surmounted by sculptured figures, perfect in grace and beauty. At the farther end of the narrowing canal stands the majestic

Statue of the Republic, golden in the sunlight. The surface of the lake shimmers between the columns of the Peristyle beyond. And, when the sun sinks from sight, and the moon rises over the lake, casting her mellowing and holy light over snow-white dome and silent statue, the great crowd is hushed with awe. It is Venice in the time of Columbus; Athens in the days of Phidias. That scene of beauty, those massive piles, grand in symmetry, were the proudest monument ever erected,—a monument raised by labor, to labor. Every statue, every column, every line of beauty, spoke of labor. The sole story, the inspiration of it all, was the laborer; he who converts the wilderness into a garden; belts the earth in all directions with bands of steel, traversing plains, tunneling under rivers, climbing mountain sides, binding whole continents in unity and peace,—the laborer, who imprisons steam, or snatches from the clouds the bolts of Jove, and bids them whirl him away over sea or land. That great Fair was an index of the fact that the power of the world lies in the laboring masses. Greece ushered in the age of art and philosophy; Rome displayed the might of conquest and the majesty of law; Europe, in the Middle Ages, portrayed the power of monarchy and the poetry of chivalry; and the mission of America is to give to the world the lesson of labor and democracy. Labor is the rock upon which are founded all our wealth, all our civilization,—all our mastery over things material and things intellectual. All the power of the present, all prospects for the future, are bound up in the laboring masses, the common people. With them lies the hope of the world. This is not the age of chivalry; aristocratic traditions have no place here; this is the age of labor. Labor for mankind, labor of hand or head or heart,—this is the true test of nobility.

Voices of prophecy speak in inspiring tones of a new era, when no labor shall be a disgrace; when the glamour which the nodding plume the prancing charger, the flashing blade,—all the pomp and pageantry of feudalism, have thrown about aristocracy, shall be but a poetic dream of the past; and the common people, the source of wealth, the nurse of heroes, the foundation of true religion, the seat and bulwark of just government, shall be truly honored. Not position, not family, not culture, not wealth, but labor, shall ennoble. Then with truth shall it be said: Not in long drawn constitutions, nor in sounding declarations, but in living institutions, men are free and equal.

THE BANISHMENT OF THE MORMON PEOPLE.

By Josiah Edwin Hickman.

[This oration was ranked first in Thought and Composition, and third in Delivery in the University contest of 1895.]

My subject is a most unpopular one. It was chosen not to herald an unpopular faith, but to defend the cause of civil and religious liberty against unwarranted prejudice; not to advocate the tenets of any religion, but to defend the cause of virtue and order against the enemies of all divine and human laws. I keenly realize the disadvantage at which I am placed in defending this much misunderstood people. And I am not ignorant of the prejudice existing upon this subject. Therefore, I ask that you do not judge until their history is held up to the light of reason.

Though this people originated in New York, I will not speak of their history until we find them in the western part of Missouri, where they had gone and built themselves comfortable homes with the view of worshiping God according to the dictates of their conscience. But as their religion was different from the accepted belief of the day, they soon began to be ridiculed, then to be persecuted; finally organized mobs assembled, and burning their homes, tarred, feathered, and whipped many of their people. In their extreme suffering, they applied for protection to judge, priest, and governor, but received none. They even petitioned President Van Buren, who replied: "Your cause is just, but I can do nothing for you." Bancroft, the great American historian, says that banded mobs went from settlement to settlement of the Mormons, burning their homes, killing or driving the unoffending inhabitants into exile. In one place, they murdered every man, woman, and child. And among the number killed was an old Revolutionary veteran, who had fought for our independence. Says the historian, "Never in savage or other warfare was there an act more dastardly or brutal." The Missourians in order that they might have a mantle to cover their cruelty, drew up resolutions. They said that the Mormons believed in prophets, in revelations, and that they were superstitious; that, being mostly from the New England States, they believed in freeing the slaves; and finally, they were poor.

Poverty, superstition, unpopular doctrines—these were the crimes. For such crimes, fourteen thousand inhabitants were driven from their homes in mid-winter. In the Middle Ages? No;

in the nineteenth century. In Russia? No; in America, fourteen thousand inhabitants were driven from their homes in the dead of winter. The sick were torn from their beds, and thrust out into the midnight air, and compelled to seek safety in some bleak forest. There were shivering children, there were infants, homeless but for a mother's arms, couchless but for a mother's breast. In such distress, pursued by merciless oppressors, they left the tracks of their bleeding feet upon the snows of their pathway. Homeless, shivering, heart-broken, and plundered, they sought shelter in the uninhabited plains of Illinois."

In this bleak wilderness, far from the inhumanity of man, the fugitives did for a time find peace and rest. During the six years which they were permitted to remain in Illinois they built several villages, besides Nauvoo, a city of twenty thousand inhabitants. They established schools, founded a university, and built a magnificent temple. "It must be admitted," says Bancroft, "that the Mormons in Missouri and Illinois were a more honest, temperate, hard-working, self-denying and thrifty people than those by whom they were surrounded."

Whatever was the cause that led to their expulsion from Illinois, it was not due to any crime of theirs, unless it was an offence to profess a different creed and worship at a different shrine. But Governor Ford said that all manner of trumped-up charges were brought against them; and those charges were without foundation, for the Mormons had committed no such offences. On a pretended charge, Joseph Smith and others were arrested and taken to Carthage under the sworn protection of the Governor. It is said that Smith had a premonition of his terrible fate and said, "I am going like a lamb to the slaughter; but I am as calm as a summer morning. I have a conscience void of offence towards God, and towards all men. I shall die innocent, and it yet will be said of me, 'He was murdered in cold blood.'" The next day after this prediction he and his brother were killed in Carthage jail. Again mob law reigned and men lost their reason. The Mormons were ordered from the state; their homes were robbed and laid in ashes. The scenes of Missouri were being repeated. Scarce had the lights of their burning homes died out, when, with scanty hoard, they crossed the Mississippi. On the first night of their exodus, February the 4th, 1844, nine wives became mothers. How those innocent babes, sick and delicate mothers, were cared for under such conditions is left for the imag-

ination of the sensitive hearer. Was it Russia, Tartary or Hindoostan, that people had to flee for opinion's sake? As those exiles departed, at the top of every hill they could be seen looking back like banished Moors on their abandoned homes, and their distant temple with its glittering spires.

Let me observe here that there were many honest souls in Missouri and Illinois who cried out against such injustice, but, as is too often the case, they were in the minority. After the death of Smith, Brigham Young, by right and choice of the people, organized and led them into the wilds of America. And while Missouri was dividing the property of fourteen thousand inhabitants whom she had recently expelled, while Illinois was trying to cover up the blood of the murdered prophets, while all the United States looked on with silent indifference, one of the most persecuted and down-trodden people that history records were marching westward beyond the pale of civilization.

And now comes an episode in the history of the Mormons which I should not dare to relate were it not a part of the official records of the government. Otherwise it would be incredible. While in the wilderness on their westward march for the Rocky Mountains, war was declared between our government and Mexico. Strange as it may seem, the President sent a messenger to Brigham Young to ask for five hundred volunteers to enter the army and march against Mexico. Remember that two states of the nation had thrust this people from their borders, had permitted mobs to plunder them, rob them of their homes, murder their prophets, and drive them into exile. Remember that their appeals in their sore afflictions, though made to governors, judges, and to the President, were invariably ignored or denied. Remember finally, that they were marching through a country unparalleled for dangers, that they were enduring hardships which, at times, threatened their very existence. Had they not sufficient cause for refusing to listen to the President's appeal? And yet it was their country calling; that country to which their pilgrim ancestors had fled; for which their patriot sires had fought and suffered; whose deeds of heroism were among their highest and noblest traditions. It was enough. Brigham Young said: "Colonel Allen, you shall have your men. If there are not enough young men, I will call upon the old men; and then, if not enough, I will call upon the women." When the call was made those sacrificing pilgrims forgot their wrongs, kissed the rod that smote them, and, with one

accord, answered their country's call. Ransack the records of history, ancient and modern, and match if you can, this example of patriotism!

Heroine mothers, while their husbands and sons were at the front, defending the country that had driven them into exile, drove their own teams twelve hundred miles over those trackless plains. Hundreds of them had neither wagons nor teams. Hand carts were made, and in them they placed their scanty hoard. Men and women pulled those carts across the desert wastes of America. Could not this destitue and exiled people receive aid? They were offered peace if they would relinquish their religion and all allegiance to their faith. But to relinquish their religion for peace, to them, it was treason. Such an act would have made a mockery of their high profession, which had been written in blood and tears. During that dreary march, hunger, sickness, and death followed in their wake. Many times death was a welcome visitor to those weary and foot-sore pilgrims. Many, lying down with their burdens for pillows, never awoke, and tonight rest in unmarked graves.

From the lips of aged veterans, I have been told that when they were exhausted and could go no farther, bare-headed, barefooted and in their tattered clothing, they knelt upon those trackless plains and importuned their Father, my God and your God, for strength. Upon arising their weariness was gone. You may not believe in miracles, but it is true that even, as with the ancient Israelites in the wilderness, quails came by the thousands to feed those starving pilgrims. My own widowed mother, peace be to her memory, walked and carried her babe from the Missouri River to the Rocky Mountains. Picture, if you can, that banished people on those plains almost destitute of food and clothing; mothers stripping off their scanty clothing to protect their little ones from the cold winds that swept across the bleak prairies. In their extreme hunger, they were obliged to eat roots and thistles; yea more, they were forced to cook and eat old raw-hides. The history of the sufferings of that people, though often attempted is yet unwritten.

As the pioneers reached the heights of the Rockies, for the first time they saw their destined home. And as Moses stood on Pisgah's heights and viewed the promised land, so they, from those silent peaks, viewed their asylum of rest. Around them was silence and desolation—a desolation of centuries; rugged mountains